

A Life
of
Fukuzawa



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Mr. Fukuzawa in 1893.

(1). Independence and Self-Respect constitute
Morality.

(2). We cannot say all that we think, nor yet
Do all we say; therefore true peace of mind
Lies in abstaining from all thought.

Fac-simile of Scrolls written by Mr. Fukuzawa.

[Translations preceding page.]


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獨立自學是修身

所思為言取之不可為人
百安之法唯在學之所思

Fac-simile of Scrolls written by Mr. Fukuzawa.

[Translations preceding page.]



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A LIFE
OF
MR. YUKICHI FUKUZAWA

BY
ASATARÔ MIYAMORI
OF KEIÔ GIJUKU.

REVISED

BY
E. H. VICKERS,
Professor of Political Economy in Keiô Gijuku

WITH AN INTRODUCTION

BY
PROF. KADONO.

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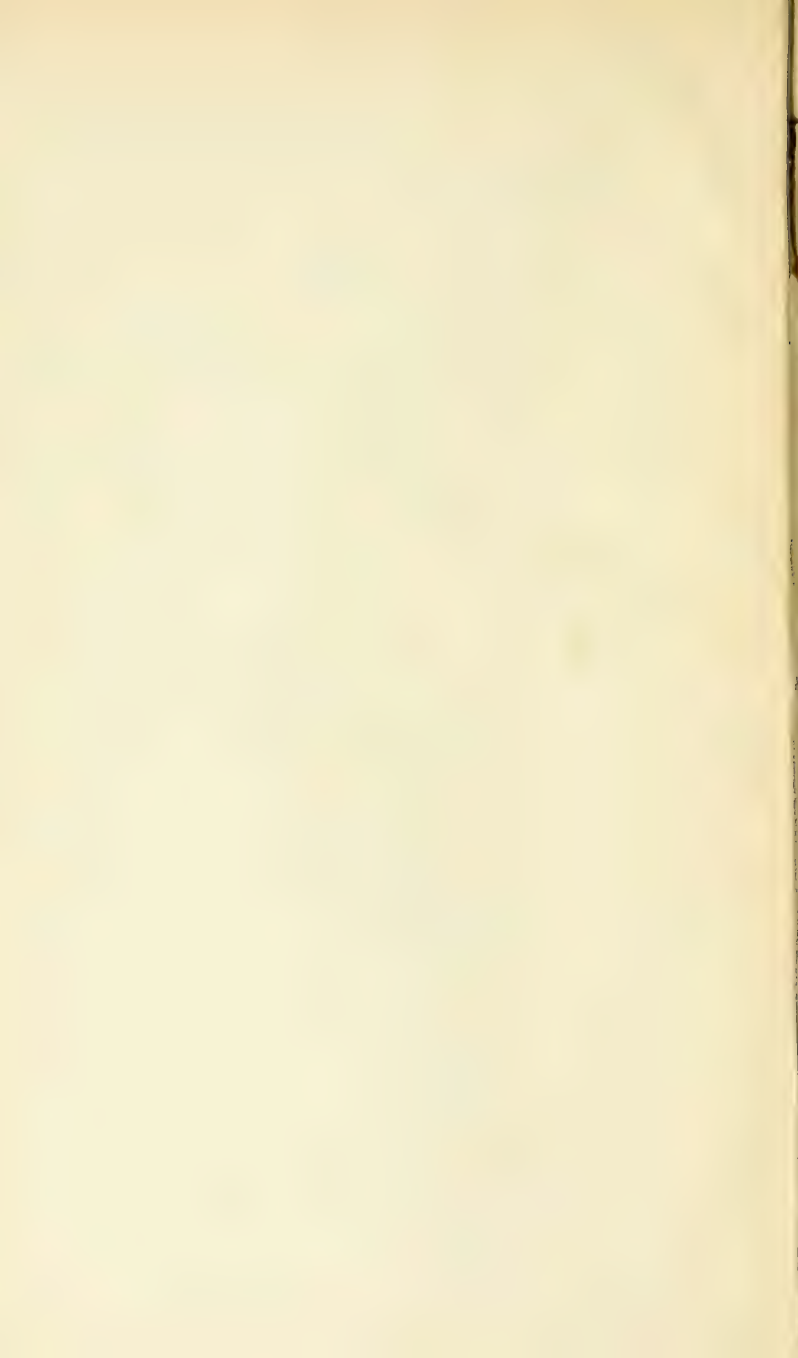
The materials for this book have been drawn from Mr. Fukuzawa's "Autobiography," his "Complete Works," and the *Aitôroku* or "In Memoriam of Mr. Fukuzawa"; and some passages have been borrowed from Dr. Murray's "Japan."

The chapter on the Keiô Gijuku may seem somewhat too long; but I beg the reader to remember that the history of the institution abounds in instructive incidents, and the character and principles of its venerable founder are shown with advantage in this chapter.

I am much indebted for some valuable suggestions to Mr. R. Kitagawa, editor of the *Jiji Shimpô*; and I have also to thank Prof. Dening for courtesies extended by him.

A. MIYAMORI.

Tokyo, January, 1902.



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REVISER'S NOTE.

Mr. Fukuzawa was one of the most remarkable Japanese of the present era. His influence—unlike that of statesmen, soldiers or scientists—was not direct, visible and measurable. His work as author, journalist and educator was to enlighten and train the minds, to ennoble and strengthen the character of his countrymen. Operating thus on intelligence and motive, he rendered preeminent service in fixing deep and firm the foundations of the present Japanese state and society. This work beneath the surface may escape notice, or its importance is likely to be underestimated. Foreigners especially may question the merits or the greatness of the man. Some may search his works in vain for philosophic or scientific expositions to rival those of occidental masters. Others may regret the absence of Christian dogma, or may still more broadly object to the foundations of his morality. They forget that such doubts rest on standards of judgment which are radically false and unjust. The works of Mr. Fukuzawa can be justly compared only with those of his contemporary

countrymen. They can be correctly judged only in the light of the peculiar environment in which they were produced and by which the whole life of the author was conditioned, incomparably more rigidly than was the life of any Western writer by his national environment. Mr. Miyamori's essay amply proves this—a fact of sufficient importance alone to justify its publication. When viewed in this light the marvel is that Mr. Fukuzawa could accept, still more could teach the superiority of Western civilization—that his ethical code was so noble and broad in conception and so nearly in accord with the precepts of a religion whose dogmas he did not accept and against whose creed most influences of environment were of a nature powerfully to prejudice him! The wonder should rather be that men who recognise the necessity of studying plants and animals with exclusive reference to their environment should fail to see the equally obvious necessity of judging the product of an exclusive and long isolated civilization with at least partial reference to the conditioning environment.

An appreciation of the peculiar work accomplished by Mr. Fukuzawa is essential to a correct estimate of the influences which transformed Me-

diaeval into Modern Japan. Those who seek a knowledge of the country, but who cannot read Japanese, will therefore doubtless welcome the present essay. The hope that its publication might make some otherwise inaccessible material available to them, that it might also, while assisting to place an illustrious man in clearer light, illustrate the power of individual intelligence and character in social evolution,—this hope induced me to undertake the revision of the manuscript. In making corrections, the aim has been to make the fewest changes that were consistent with clearness. The original form, arrangement, construction and wording have therefore been as far as practicable preserved. It is my sincere wish that a large circle of readers may find in the perusal of this essay as much interest and profit as I have.

E. H. VICKERS.

INTRODUCTION

BY

PROF. KADONO,

Dean of Keio Gijuku.



Though the fact that our country could have come out of the most critical stage of our national existence with such signal success can not be due to the acts of any one or a few individuals, yet if there is one man who has contributed more than any other toward the end, I venture to say, Fukuzawa Yukichi is that one. This is by no means the vain boast of those connected with him, but the opinion endorsed by numerous impartial observers in the country. However this may be, it is an incontestable fact that his personal influence was as great as it can be in the case of any person in private position ; so great that he was popularly called “ the Great Commoner of Mita.”

Indeed it is impossible to find a parallel to the life of Mr. Fukuzawa in modern societies of Europe or America. He is often spoken of as an Arnold or

a Carlyle of Japan. The comparison gives no just idea; he exercised a far greater influence than the designations "scholar" or "writer" would suggest. If we try to find his parallel in European history, the religious reformers in the period of Reformation are the nearest types. But this is only true in respect of the wide influence they exerted over the society of their time; for his reformation was not confined to the sphere of religion, but covered every field of social activities. He was not a politician, yet he was fond of political discussion. Not only many enlightened politicians came out of his school, but also those actually in power in the government were often benefited by his advice and admonitions. At the same time, he was educating the people by his copious writings in books and newspapers and thus preparing the way for those enlightened politicians. The same was the case in matters of religion and business. He was not a man of religion, yet he knew the need of a sound religion; nor was he a man of business, yet he upheld the modern importance of trade; and it was not seldom that religious and business classes were benefited by his advice which he was always ready to give them. The great master used to say: "Among the crowd of

spectators at a play, there is but one person who can feel the greatest possible pleasure in the sight; I mean the author of the play." He wanted to be one. He preferred the part of an author to that of an actor and it was well for the country that he made this choice. His versatile genius, his power of conversation, his lucid style of writing, in short almost every quality of his remarkable character fitted him for the unique part he was destined to fill in our society. We know he succeeded in a great measure in being at once the author and spectator of one of the most wonderful dramas ever played on the stage of History.

Mr. Miyamori is a graduate of Keio Gijuku and is actually a teacher of English in that school. Such a connection with the subject of his writing, though it may not be favorable to the fairness of his judgment, has the advantage of intimate knowledge and saves him from the superficiality of an outsider. Moreover there is Mr. Fukuzawa's story of his own life, which, I believe, was the chief source of Mr. Miyamori's materials. In his Autobiography, Mr. Fukuzawa speaks of his faults as well as his merits with a candidness truly remarkable. This can only be expected from a man who was convinced that,

with all his faults candidly revealed, he was yet a superior man and rendered a great service to his country. The world is prone to appreciate only the deeds of politicians and warriors. It is not to be wondered at that a man whose actions and teachings were chiefly behind the curtain, should remain comparatively unnoticed in the outside world. Mr. Miyamori's object in writing this little book was perhaps to do something toward ensuring for his great master the due notice of those foreigners interested in our recent eventful history, and I am sure that the book will prove a useful contribution to the English historical literature.

I. KADONO,
Keiô Gijuku.

A LIFE
OF
MR. YUKICHI FUKUZAWA.

" A king can mak' a belted knight,
A marquis, duke, and a' that ;
But an honest man's aboon his might,
Guid faith, he mauna fa' that !
For a' that, and a' that,
Their dignities, and a' that,
The pith o' sense, and pride o' worth
Are higher ranks than a' that."

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTION.

AMONG the great names in the history of the present Japanese civilization there is none more deserving of notice than that of the late Mr. Yukichi Fukuzawa, the "Sage of Mita." It is undeniable that during the last forty years of marvellous change and progress, he most ably guided his countrymen.

In 1858, the Tokugawa government concluded treaties with Western powers and the doors of Japan were opened to foreign intercourse. But this was done under the pressure of the powers, and the actual opening of Japan was effected only after many long years of struggle; for behind her doors there still remained a strong wall of anti-foreign prejudice. For more than two centuries, the Japanese had lived in quiet seclusion from the outside world. Hence they were in utter ignorance of affairs in foreign countries, while their minds were filled with the antiquated principles of Chinese learning. They looked down on foreigners as barbarians and considered foreign trade as injurious to national interests. Even the educated classes shared these prejudices. Under the circumstances, it was no wonder that the new foreign policy of the government provoked most bitter attacks from misguided patriots. Then followed a succession of assassinations both of foreigners and of native scholars of progressive ideas; and the anti-foreign sentiment at last culminated in a long period of anarchy and civil war. During this period, the Meiji Revolution was effected. While most patriots were thus busy with politics and war and the whole

nation was possessed by excitement, Mr. Fukuzawa saw the vital necessity of breaking down the wall of prejudice and of introducing Western civilization. Voluntarily he assumed the thankless task of aiding in this great work : and steadily, persistently, in the face of opposition and personal peril, he played in his unique way a most unselfish and important *role*.

As the author of "Things Western" and many other works, as the founder of the Keiō Gijuku, then the only institution in Japan where Western learning might be acquired, Mr. Fukuzawa performed inestimable services in opening the eyes of his countrymen. It is indeed no exaggeration to say that, but for his efforts and for those of his co-workers, Japan might have met with the same fate as the present China. Furthermore, as a social reformer, as a political mentor, as the founder and editor-in-chief of the *Jiji Shimpō*, as a champion of women's rights, as a promoter of commerce and industries, and as the author of the so-called "Mr. Fukuzawa's Code of Morals," he contributed much more than any other man to the building up of the "New Japan." He was not a statesman. He never held office under the Imperial Government. He was never a legislator, nor was he a leader of armies. He was always an

untitled subject and a private citizen, living and doing his work chiefly with the pen and apart from the crowd. Yet nobody has influenced the life and thought of his countrymen more deeply and more extensively than the "Great Commoner." Those who have lived in the present era, whether young or old, high or low, are more or less intellectual debtors to him. Even those of our countrymen who differ in views from him have received from him a great stimulus. There is no town or village throughout the Empire where his good influence is not felt. Dr. Griffis is quite right in calling him the "intellectual father of half the youth of Japan."

It is true that there have been many other scholars who have made efforts for the introduction of Western civilization into Japan. But most of them influenced only the educated classes. Some of them were led astray in their efforts by conservative principles, by a sort of "Japanism" if the term is permissible; and others have devoted their energies chiefly to the promotion of the interests of the upper classes. Mr. Fukuzawa aimed at thoroughly Westernizing the people at large, and never for a moment in his life did he swerve from his purpose.

The *Yorozu Chōhō* puts it none too strongly

when it says, "We can spare Itô's and Shibusawas, for there can be found many men who are their equals and who can fill their places. But we can find no successor to the late Sage of Mita." He was pre-eminently the greatest benefactor modern Japan has had; and the House of Representatives appropriately expressed the national sorrow when it passed a unanimous vote of condolence on the death of Japan's Grand Old Man.

How Mr. Fukuzawa struggled against the frowns of poverty; how, surmounting innumerable and apparently insuperable obstacles, he acquired Western learning; how, at the imminent risk of assassination, he taught his fellow countrymen; how he continued his noble efforts to his last year,—a narration of these particulars must prove at once interesting and instructive to a large circle of readers, both Japanese and foreign. With this conviction, and with the earnest hope that the present effort to present such a narration may prove at least moderately acceptable, the following pages are offered to the public.

CHAPTER II.

PARENTAGE AND BOYHOOD.

MR. Yukichi Fukuzawa was born on the twelfth of December, 1834 (the fifth year of Tempô),

at Dôjima, in the city of Osaka. He was the youngest of five children, of whom the eldest was a boy and the other three were girls. His father, Hyakusuke Fukuzawa, was a retainer of Okudaira Daizen-no-Taifu, the lord of the Nakatsu clan in the province of Buzen, Kyushu. As an accountant of the *kurayashiki* or granary establishment* of his clan, the father lived many years in Osaka. He was a *samurai* of subordinate rank and his duty as an accountant was generally considered below the dignity of a *samurai*. He was a Chinese scholar trained to unquestioning belief in Confucian doctrines. Like most Chinese scholars of his day, he regarded pecuniary affairs as beneath one's dignity. Naturally enough he was dissatisfied with his position; but circumstances did not allow him to choose a more congenial occupation.

Yukichi's mother, Jun, was a daughter of a *samurai* in the same clan. She appears to have been a tender-hearted yet strong-willed woman and of a charitable disposition.

* The clans in central and southern Japan had establishments in Osaka, the commercial centre of that region, in order to sell the tribute rice collected from farmers.

Hyakusuke educated his children in the Confucian doctrines. Some of them were once sent to a private tutor who had among his pupils the children of merchants. As was customary in a centre of commerce like Osaka, this tutor taught the children, not only reading and writing, but also the multiplication table. When Hyakusuke heard of this, he said, "What nonsense to teach children to count! Such a teacher won't do for my children." Accordingly he withdrew his children from the school.

Hyakusuke died at the age of forty-five, Yukichi being then only three years old. The eldest son was at that time a mere boy of eleven years, and the daughters were under ten. The unfortunate mother, with her helpless family, returned to live in Nakatsu, her native town. Owing to her many years' residence in Osaka, she had come to speak the Osaka dialect; and her children also differed in language and manners from their neighbors. This naturally inclined them to avoid making intimate friends of their neighbors and relations. The children usually stayed at home and played with each other. Owing in part to the teachings of their dead father and in part to the influence of their

kind-hearted mother, they were well behaved. They never quarreled with one another and never visited theatres or other places of amusement. Theirs was, indeed, a happy home.

The family received a monthly allowance from the clan, but it was so small that they could not afford to employ a servant. The mother, assisted by the elder children, performed all the household duties. When he became old enough, Yukichi too helped his mother, pounding rice, cooking food, and cultivating some land. He was expert in manual labor and took delight in mechanical contrivances. He was skilful in pasting paper on *shōji* (paper doors) and partitions. Services of this kind he performed, not only for his mother's family, but also sometimes for other relatives. As a cobbler, he made and repaired clogs and sandals for himself and for members of the immediate family. Occasionally he mended mats, stopped leaks in the house-roof, and even hooped pails.

Yukichi's brother, Sannosuke, was educated in Chinese learning and became a thorough Confucian. Some years later he went to reside in Osaka as an accountant of the granary establishment. He once asked young Yukichi what he intended to be in

the future. "Well," answered the latter, "I wish to become the richest man in Japan and to spend as much money as I please." Sannosuke made a wry face and scolded him. Then Yukichi asked his brother's aim in life. "A Confucian moralist to my death," was the reply.

When Yukichi was twelve or thirteen years old, he one day passed where his brother was arranging some papers and accidentally trod on one of the sheets. The brother exclaimed, "Look out! Can't you see? Isn't here in this paper written the name of our lord Okudaira Daizen-no-Taifu?" "Is there indeed?" said he, "I did not know that." "Why, have you no eyes? Is it right for a retainer to tread on the name of his lord?" The brother then proceeded with a severe scolding and a long discourse on the duties of a vassal to his lord, after which Yukichi was obliged to beg pardon. But the young boy doubted whether it was wrong to tread on a piece of paper, even though the name of his lord were inscribed thereon. He further meditated thus: "If it were wrong to do this, what would happen if I trod on the name of a god?" After this reasoning, he secretly trod on a piece of paper which contained the name of a god. Since this act brought no

dreadful consequence, he thought: "Well, there is no harm in this. Let me make another experiment." This time he subjected the paper to most debasing usage, a little fearful of the consequence; but, to his great satisfaction, no evil followed. Thus he became convinced that there was no divine punishment as understood by the Japanese. As he grew older, he perceived the gross absurdity of all idolatry, augury, and enchantment. He had no shadow of superstition. One day he opened the door of an *Inari** shrine and substituted a large stone for the image. A few days later, he was pleased to see some of his neighbors come and pray before the imageless shrine.

During his childhood, Yukichi had no inclination to study, and his mother would not urge him to do so. At the age of fourteen he had learned almost nothing. Then he began deeply to regret the years spent in neglect of his education. Accordingly he entered a private school in the country and henceforth studied with most exemplary diligence. Soon he was known as a bright student, and his natural talents enabled him rapidly to outstrip his fellow-students. Afterward we find him studying in

* the Japanese goddess of rice.

the school of a Chinese scholar of some repute by the name of Shiraishi. He attended this school about five years and during that time he made a systematic study of the Chinese classics and read most Chinese works then in vogue. Among these, the "Ch'un Ts'ew" or "Spring and Autumn Annals" by Confucius was his greatest favorite. This work, which consists of many volumes, he read a dozen times, and memorized the most interesting passages. Thus he became a good Chinese scholar. Hence the opposition which he in later years showed to Confucianism was not due to any want of acquaintance with the Chinese classics.

There were in Shiraishi's school two poor students who supported themselves on what they earned as shampooers. It occurred to Yukichi that this art of shampooing might in a future emergency be made a means of self-support by him. He therefore sought from his fellow-students instruction in it and actually became a fairly good shampooer.

While he was a student, Yukichi contributed something to the family budget. His means were earned by the pursuit of some subordinate occupations. At first, he made clogs for sale. Later, he lacquered and ornamented the sheath and hilt of

swords—an art which he had learned from a poor *samurai* and in which he acquired considerable proficiency.

CHAPTER III.

STUDIES AT NAGASAKI.

WHILE Mr. Fukuzawa was studying at Shirashi's school, Japan was disturbed by an unexpected event. In June, 1853 (the sixth year of Kayei), Commodore Perry, American ambassador, visited Uraga with a fleet and sought to open commercial relations with Japan. The Japanese who had lived in quiet seclusion from the outside world during the two centuries of the Tokugawa *régime*, were out of measure astonished at the sudden appearance of the American men-of-war. "Black ships!" was echoed and re-echoed throughout the length and breadth of the Empire. Every possible preparation against foreign aggressions was undertaken: armies were enlarged; methods of military drill were improved; gunnery was strenuously studied; bells of temples were cast into cannon; and forts were constructed at several places.

These circumstances incited our young scholar to the determination to study Dutch in order to

find access to Western learning and to gain information about affairs in foreign countries. The reader must bear in mind that since the beginning of the seventeenth century the Dutch and the Chinese were the only foreigners who had been permitted to trade in Japan and the Dutch language was the only medium for acquiring Western learning. For the pursuit of his studies, Mr. Fukuzawa, in February, 1854 (the first year of Ansei), when he was in his twenty-first year, proceeded to Nagasaki, where the only Dutch settlement in Japan existed and where in consequence were found many facilities for the study of Dutch. Since Mr. Fukuzawa had no means to support himself, he was made a *shokkaku** to Sôjuro Yamamoto, a teacher of gunnery. This position was secured for him through the kindness of Iki Okudaira, the son of the chief official of his clan, who was then studying gunnery under this teacher. Mr. Fukuzawa served his master in many widely different capacities: as secretary, accountant, tutor for the son, and sometimes even servant. He performed all his duties so faithfully that the master placed great confidence in him and even offered to

* A student who depends on another person for support and who generally renders some services in return.

adopt him as a son. During his spare hours, he eagerly took lessons in Dutch under several scholars, a certain Narabayashi, an interpreter in Dutch, and Ôsho Ishikawa, a physician of the Dutch school, being the best among them. But each of these men was too busy with his own profession to give him regular lessons; consequently no small amount of inconvenience was experienced in his study. Dutch was found so difficult that, with even his bright talents and untiring perseverance, he required three days to master the alphabet. Nevertheless his subsequent study resulted in rapid progress.

The rapid progress which Mr. Fukuzawa made in learning Dutch excited the jealousy of his friend Okudaira, who was narrow-minded, and who at length managed to oblige him to leave Nagasaki. Then Mr. Fukuzawa decided to go up to Yedo (the present Tokyo). He raised a small sum by disposing of a Dutch-Japanese dictionary, and under the pretence of returning to Nakatsu, left Nagasaki for Yedo in March, 1855. On his way to Yedo, he stopped at Osaka and called on his brother, who was then living in the granary establishment, with the object of obtaining pecuniary help. The brothers were, after a whole year of separation, much delighted to see

each other. The younger Fukuzawa had many unexpected visitors. The woman who had nursed him in his infancy ; the woman who had acted the part of a midwife at his birth ; the honest servant and many old friends of his dead father—all these kindly came to see him. His heart was filled with joyous emotions and he felt as if he had returned to his home.

CHAPTER IV.

STUDIES AT OSAKA.

AS Samosuke would not permit him to proceed to Yedo, Mr. Fukuzawa was obliged to reside for a time with his brother. Soon we find him attending the Dutch school of Kōan Ogata and pursuing his studies with diligence. He quickly won a position among the brightest students, and Ogata treated him with special favor. Unfortunately, in January of the following year, his brother became afflicted with rheumatism and gradually grew worse. "Misfortunes never come singly." In February of the same year, Mr. Fukuzawa undertook to nurse an intimate friend and class-mate through an attack of typhoid fever, and he himself became inoculated with the germs. His recovery was slow, and for some

time the state of his health was such that he could not resume his studies. Meanwhile the brother's affliction became serious, and moreover his term of office expired. Hence the two brothers sought benefit from a change of air, and together they returned to their home in Nakatsu. After three months' stay there, Mr. Fukuzawa's health was completely restored. As his brother appeared to be on a fair way to recovery, he proceeded again in August to Osaka. Scarcely had he resumed his studies at Ogata's school, when he received from home a letter which brought the news of his brother's death and an urgent demand for his quick return. He hastened to his home. The mother, the sisters, and the relatives were stricken with sorrow. Yet Mr. Fukuzawa was the one most deeply affected by this bereavement. For, in addition to his great personal grief, he succeeded* his brother as the responsible head of the family. Furthermore the general opinion of the clan was extremely unfavorable to Western learning; and all Mr. Fukuzawa's friends, relatives, and neighbors were strongly

* According to Japanese custom, the eldest living son succeeds to the family estate and takes the place of his father as responsible head of the family.

opposed to his going to Osaka again. He could find nobody to consult about his plans, except his mother. Eagerly he asked her permission to go to Ogata's school. The daughter of his dead brother, an orphan only three years old, was in her care ; and his sisters were already married. Thus she would feel very lonesome without her son. But she was a strong-willed woman ; and, since she wished her son to make the most of his abilities, she willingly consented to his request. But how raise travelling expenses ? Owing to the expenses connected with the brother's illness, the family had already incurred some debt. At length, it was decided to sell over 1500 volumes, which constituted a valued library of his house, several valuable curios and pieces of furniture. The sum thus realized was sufficient to pay off the debt, and for the expenses of a journey to Osaka. As the further pursuit of his plans was thus made practicable, Mr. Fukuzawa at once set out for Osaka.

The pluck, persistence, industry, and resourcefulness of Mr. Fukuzawa are strikingly illustrated by an incident which occurred at this time. One day during his stay at Nakatsu, he called on Iki Okudaira who was then in the town. The latter showed him

a new Dutch book which he had recently bought for twenty-three dollars at Nagasaki. It was a work on fortification by Pell (?) which was the first book of the kind ever seen by our young Dutch scholar. He wished to get a copy of this book, but twenty-three dollars was far beyond his means. Okudaira would not lend him the book long enough for him to read it. He gazed at the book for a time and silently regretted his poverty. At this moment, a cunning idea occurred to him. "This is, indeed, a good book," said he to Okudaira, "It is, of course, impossible to read it through in a hurry; I wish only to look at the table of contents and the illustrations. Will you please lend it to me for a few days?" Okudaira consented to his request. Mr. Fukuzawa left with the book and ran to his house in triumph. Immediately he began to copy it on Japanese paper with a quill and Japanese ink. By hard work all day and late into the night, he succeeded in copying the whole volume of some two hundred pages in about three weeks. In order to prevent either waste of his time or a report of his proceeding to the jealous owner of the book, Mr. Fukuzawa refused, during the entire time, to receive any visitor. As soon as the work was finished, he returned the book to Okudaira

who had not the slightest suspicion of the use that had been made of it.

Mr. Fukuzawa arrived in Osaka in November. Immediately he called on Ogata who, being informed of his circumstances, kindly offered to support him during his study. Mr. Fukuzawa at once took up residence in the boarding-house of the school. He studied so diligently that he never spread* a bed for sleep. When his brain refused to comprehend, he would lean upon his desk and take a nap. When he awoke, regardless of the hour, he resumed his reading. His only weakness was drinking *saké*. He had a strong fondness for drink. Even when he was a small child, his mother found that the only plan to keep him quiet when his head was being shaved was to promise him some *saké*. At Ogata's school, he indulged this propensity whenever the opportunity was presented. In all other respects, his conduct was exemplary. He never quarrelled with anyone. He never contracted debt nor showed any laxity of morals. Before he had been long at Ogata's school, considerable progress was recognized in his studies

* The Japanese bed consists of *futons* spread on the soft mats of the floor. When not in use, the *futons* are folded and put away, and the apartment has no appearance of a bed-room.

and he was made head-student.* As it was a rule for newcomers to present a certain sum to the head-student, Mr. Fukuzawa always had some pocket-money with which to satisfy his craving for drink.

Kôan Ogata, who was by profession a physician, was a well-known Dutch scholar. His school had an average attendance of one hundred students, most of whom were sons of physicians. The boarding students numbered about sixty. Their conduct outside the school was so disreputable that the women and children in the neighborhood spoke of them with disgust. In summer they were literally naked. Except in class and at meals, they wore no garments. In their habits, they were irregular and absolutely neglectful of hygienic considerations. Between regular meals, they cooked food with their own pans and *konro*.† These utensils usually lay about their desks. Desks and wash-basins were often used as kitchen utensils. Disorderly as

* It was formerly a custom in Japan for the master of a school to select the student who was best in character and acquirements as his assistant. This assistant or head-student occupied an authoritative position towards the other students of the school.

† Portable earthen-ware furnaces.

they were in their habits and manners, they were nevertheless, as a rule, hard workers. The beginners were taught the first rudiments of the Dutch grammar by means of two books reprinted in Yedo. Ten books on natural philosophy and medicine constituted the school library. As soon as the grammar was mastered, the students set about making copies of these books for their own use. Among so many candidates for the privilege of copying these few books, it was necessary for them to decide their turns by lot. As there was no foreign paper for sale, they wrote on glazed Japanese paper with Japanese ink and quills of their own make. At intervals of four or five days, there were class readings of these copied books. The readings were presided over by either the head-student or by the best student of the highest class ; and Ogata now and then gave lessons only to the highest class. These were the only times when instruction was given. In their study hours it was a point of honor with the students not to give or receive help of any kind. They had to hammer out the meaning of their text-books by themselves as best they could. They had no other help than Zoof's(?) Dutch-Japanese Dictionary and Weiland's(?) Dutch Dictionary. The latter being all

written in Dutch, it was quite beyond the understanding of beginners. The former was written both in Japanese and in Dutch, so that most of the students consulted this dictionary. On the night previous to the day for reading, even the laziest student sat up all night with his book ; and a number of students were always found in the "Zoof's Room," as it was called, referring to this dictionary in profound silence.

Chemistry had a great attraction for the students. They were always making experiments with the most primitive and inadequate means. They succeeded in plating iron with zinc. An attempt to make iodine was a failure. They distilled ammonia out of bones and horse's hoofs ; but the stench was so horrible that the experiment had to be removed from the school to the courtyard and from the courtyard to a boat on the river. They eagerly dissected dogs, cats, and the corpses of criminals, whenever the opportunity offered.

The Lord of Chikuzen once called at Osaka on his way to Yedo and stayed three days. Ogata waited upon him and borrowed a book from him with the promise to return it before his departure. Ogata brought it to his house and showed it to Mr.

Fukuzawa. The book was a Dutch translation of a new work by Faraday, the famous English scientist. One section of the work was a treatise on electricity. This subject was treated with minuteness of detail. Many new theories were also presented in the work. The text-books in the school treated only the elements of physics, and the students had little knowledge of electricity. Consequently this work excited the interest of Mr. Fukuzawa, who was very anxious to devour the contents. But it had to be returned to the owner within three days and it was a large volume of about one thousand pages. He took the book to his fellow-students and consulted them about what should be done with it. They decided to make a copy of the section on electricity which appeared to be the most interesting. Thus all the students, each in his turn, set about copying it. The part which they desired to copy contained about one hundred and sixty pages. In three days of constant hard work the task was accomplished. On the night when the Lord of Chikuzen was about to depart, they took leave of the book as if they were separating from a dear friend. From that time, electricity was studied much more

successfully than before ; and the students had no equals in Japan in knowledge of electricity.

There were then one or two Dutch schools in Yedo, but Ogata's students might rightly claim the distinction of being the best Dutch scholars in the Empire.

CHAPTER V.

DIFFICULTIES OF LEARNING ENGLISH.

IN 1858 (the fifth year of Ansei), Mr. Fukuzawa received a summons from the authorities of his clan to go up to Yedo in order to open a Dutch school there. In October he left Ogata's school and proceeded to Yedo. There he took up his residence in the mansion of his clan at Teppôzu (the present Tsukiji). Soon after, he opened at his home a school in which he taught a few young sons of his clansmen and a few students from other clans. As compensation, he received a moderate salary from his clan.

While he was studying at the Ogata School, Mr. Fukuzawa used to look down with scorn on the Dutch scholars in Yedo ; but now that he had become a teacher of Dutch, his vanity failed him and he could not rest contented until he sounded their actual scholarship. From this motive, he often

asked them the explanation of difficult passages in his Dutch books. These passages he himself understood quite well but he frequently found that they could not explain them. One day he called on Teiho Shimamura, a Dutch scholar of some celebrity. Shimamura showed Mr. Fukuzawa a Dutch work on physiology which he was then in the course of translating and said that a passage in it was quite beyond his comprehension, adding that it had stumbled several of his friends. "Well," said Mr. Fukuzawa, "I will try to make out the meaning." At first sight the passage seemed quite beyond his understanding, but after much intense thought, he succeeded, to the satisfaction of his own vanity, in deciphering its meaning. This little incident freed him from further apprehension that the Yedo scholars might be his superiors in Dutch.

In July, 1859 (the sixth year of Ansei), in pursuance of treaties of amity and commerce concluded the previous year with the United States, England, the Netherlands, France, and Russia, Yokohama was opened to foreign trade. In order to test the practical value of his knowledge of Dutch, Mr. Fukuzawa sought an early opportunity to visit the foreign settlement at Yokohama. In the space

of twenty-four hours he walked there and back—forty miles in all—returning weary and footsore. That, however, was nothing when compared with his depression at finding that the Dutch, which he had so laboriously acquired, was of no practical use to him. At Yokohama he saw many stores kept by foreigners. He called at some of the stores and addressed the shopkeepers in Dutch. But they did not understand him nor could he understand what they said. He could not even read the sign-boards over the stores or the labels on the bottles inside. On inquiring he found that the language spoken there was English—a language so extensively spoken in the world that it might almost be called international. On his return to Yedo, he was much discouraged to think that, if he desired to maintain his standing as a scholar who was familiar with Western learning, it would be necessary for him to devote to learning English as much time and energy as he had already expended on Dutch. But his was not a nature that yields to discouragement. On that very day he determined to learn English. But how accomplish this purpose? There was in Yedo no scholar who taught English. For some time, he was at a loss what to do. At last he was delighted to learn that

a certain Moriyama from Nagasaki, an interpreter in English, was then engaged in the service of the Bakufu* to assist in making treaties with foreign nations. Mr. Fukuzawa called on him to beg his instruction in English. The interpreter assented, but he was so busy with his public duties that he could find only a little time early in the morning and late in the evening, before and after his hours in the Foreign Department. At the specified times Mr. Fukuzawa walked from Teppōzu to Moriyama's residence in Koishikawa—a distance of about five miles each way—during two or three months; but almost every time he called some unexpected event prevented Moriyama from teaching him.

Thus disappointed in his effort to learn from a teacher of English, Mr. Fukuzawa decided to proceed without the aid of a teacher. For this purpose he proposed to use two small books—partly in Dutch, partly in English—which he had purchased at Yokohama. In addition, he had need of an English-Dutch dictionary. But neither in Yedo nor in Yokohama could such a dictionary be purchased.

* The government of the shogun; 'curtain government': so called because the shogun's quarters in camp were screened off by a curtain.

He heard that students of the *Bansho Shirabesho*, a government school where Western sciences were taught, enjoyed the privilege of using many kinds of foreign dictionaries contained in the library of the school. With the hope of borrowing there an English-Dutch dictionary, he immediately secured admittance to the school. To his great disappointment, he was refused permission to take the dictionary home. Deeming it unprofitable to walk daily from Teppôzu to Kudan where the *Bansho Shirabesho* was located merely to consult the dictionary, he on the very first day abandoned the idea of attending the school.

After the failure of these plans, he asked the clan authorities to buy him a pronouncing English-Dutch dictionary in two volumes at the cost of five dollars; and having secured the dictionary, he began, without the aid of a personal teacher, most assiduously to study English. As he thought that it might encourage him to have one or two fellow-students, he tried to persuade his friends Kôhei Kanda and Masujirô Ômura to join him in his study of English, but in vain. Nevertheless he found an earnest fellow-student in Keisuke Harada who had also perceived the necessity of learning English. With the help of

the English-Dutch dictionary mentioned above, they could with relative ease translate the sense ; but the pronunciation was, as we may well imagine, extremely difficult. Various expedients were adopted, in order to obtain instruction in pronunciation. Once they had for instructor in pronunciation a young boy from Nagasaki who had some knowledge of English. Occasionally men who had by shipwreck been obliged to spend many years in foreign countries would come home to Japan. The zealous scholars were sure to call on them in order to get hints on English pronunciation. Thus Mr. Fukuzawa gradually improved his English pronunciation. Throughout his study of English, he found that his Dutch acquirements were of far greater use to him than he had expected.

CHAPTER VI.

FIRST VISIT TO THE UNITED STATES.

A golden opportunity for improving his English was finally presented to our zealous scholar. In December, 1859 (the sixth year of Ansei), the Tokugawa Government decided to send envoys to the United States for the twofold purpose of ratifying the previously arranged treaties and observing

economic, political and social conditions in America. Niimi Settsu-no-Kami, *Bugyô** of Foreign Affairs, and two other high officials were appointed for the mission. The envoys and their suite were to go in the *Powhattan*, a warship sent by the United States Government for their transportation. The *Kanrin Maru*, a man-of-war of the Bakufu, was to make her trial trip as an escort of the *Powhattan*. The *Kanrin Maru* was a small ship of 100 horse-power which, two or three years before, had been bought for \$ 25,000 from the Netherlands. She could utilize steam power only when entering or leaving port and used sails during voyage. Kimura Settsu-no-Kami, *Bugyô* of Warships, was appointed her captain. The crew numbered ninety-five, among whom were found Rintarô Katsu (the late Count Katsu) as commander and Manjirô Nakahama as interpreter. This voyage of the *Kanrin Maru* was a very bold undertaking, considering the fact that the Japanese had seen steamers for the first time in 1853 and that not until two years later had officers of the Tokugawa Government begun to learn the art of

* *Bugyô* were officials of various grades and duties under the feudal government. There were three or four *bugyô* in the Foreign Department.

navigation. The report of this undertaking speedily spread about the whole city of Yedo. Mr. Fukuzawa could no longer stay quietly in his study. Having got a letter of introduction to Capt. Kimura, he waited upon him and offered his services as an attendant. Somewhat to Mr. Fukuzawa's surprise, his offer was immediately accepted. The voyage to foreign lands, it is evident, was then generally regarded with so much aversion that few persons would volunteer for such services.

The *Kanrin Maru* weighed anchor in January, 1860 (the first year of Banyiē); and after a voyage of thirty-seven days, safely reached her destination. During the voyage, she experienced very stormy weather, lost two boats, and ran short of water. Many of the crew were seasick. Commander Katsu was one of the sufferers and was confined to his cabin during the entire voyage. Most of the captain's attendants were also ill. But Mr. Fukuzawa remained quite well and gave active help to his master. As soon as the *Kanrin Maru* reached San Francisco, distinguished men of the city came to the ship to congratulate the Japanese on their successful voyage. Presently a salute was fired on shore. The Japanese officers proposed to fire in return.

Commander Katsu said, "Ten to one, we shall fail to fire. Let us give up the idea." "Oh, no!," said Sasakura, chief engineer, "It is not difficult to fire. Let me try." "Nonsense! I will bet my life on your failure," said Katsu. The engineer became excited and persisted in carrying out his idea. Immediately a cannon was cleaned and loaded. To his triumph and to the mortification of Katsu, he succeeded in firing a return salute.

The Americans showed the Japanese the utmost hospitality. The Americans provided free quarters for them on shore and docked and repaired their ship free of charge. Every thing of interest that San Francisco afforded was freely shown them. They were taken to manufactories at different places and were struck with wonder and admiration at the ingenuity of the machinery. Every thing they saw was quite novel and wonderful to them. They were amazed to see vehicles drawn by horses; and it was only after several minutes of study that they were able to understand the use of the carriages. They were often invited to dinner at large hotels. When they arrived for the first time at a hotel, they were surprised to find that the floor of the room was covered with beautiful carpet. Such carpet only

Japanese of luxurious life could afford, and even then merely in the form of small pieces made into tobacco pouches or purses. They were still more surprised to see the Americans walk on the carpet with dirty shoes; and it was with some hesitation that they dared walk on it with sandals. To the Americans also, the Japanese, wearing *haori** and *hakama*†, two swords and sandals, and with their hair tied up in top-knots, presented a very strange and picturesque appearance. Presently many bottles were brought in and when they were uncorked a strange hissing sound was heard. To each of the guests a glass of Champagne was served. There was something transparent floating in the wine. It being a warm April day, the Japanese could not guess what it was. Some of them ventured to take the floating substance into their mouths, and, finding it to be too cold, at once spit it out. Others gnawed it awkwardly. Strange as it seemed to them, it was only ice. They started with terror at sight of a turkey and a pig cooked whole. Mr. Fukuzawa, as well as the rest, made some blunders. Once, after lighting his pipe from a stove, he wrapped the ashes

* A kind of coat.

† Loose trowsers with many folds in the front.

in a piece of paper and put the paper into his pocket. He was about to smoke another pipe, when, to his great surprise, smoke issued from the pocket. He then found that the paper had taken fire from sparks that had remained in the ashes.

Mr. Fukuzawa seized every opportunity for improving his English. He and Nakahama the interpreter each brought back to Japan a Webster's Dictionary, the first copies of that work ever imported. His knowledge of Western things was greatly extended; but his observation was limited to the manners, customs, and material things, to the neglect of the political, social and economic conditions.

Their mission finished, the Japanese left the land of wonders; and, calling at Hawaii *en route*, they, in May of the same year, returned, after a peaceful voyage.

During Mr. Fukuzawa's stay in America, some disagreeable rumors concerning him had arisen among the people of his native town Nakatsu. One of his relatives even said to his mother, "I am very sorry to hear of the unfortunate death of your son in America. They say his body is salted and brought back to Yedo." Naturally such rumors caused great anxiety to his lonely mother.

On his return to Japan, Mr. Fukuzawa resumed his teaching. Now, however, he taught English instead of Dutch. Still he could not yet readily understand English books. Consequently, in addition to teaching his students, he, with the aid of his English-Dutch dictionary, set himself assiduously to study English. The number of his pupils rapidly increased. In this year, he published his first work, "Vocabulary and Phrases in English, Chinese, and Japanese." Soon he was employed by the Foreign Office of the Bakufu to translate foreign dispatches. As there were very few Japanese who could read or write English or French, it was customary for ministers and consuls of foreign powers, in communicating with the Bakufu authorities, to add Dutch translations to their official dispatches. It was chiefly for translating these Dutch translations, rather than the original language, that Mr. Fukuzawa was employed. His official duties afforded many facilities for improving his English. He tried to translate the foreign dispatches directly from the original English without looking at the Dutch, and only when he encountered very difficult passages would he consult the Dutch. This method contributed much to his progress in English. There were in the Foreign Office many kinds of English books.

These he very eagerly read.

The marriage of Mr. Fukuzawa took place at this period. In 1861, when he was in his twenty-eighth year, he married a girl of seventeen years, Kin by name, the second daughter of Tarohachi Doki, a *samurai* of his clan. Three years later, their eldest son, Mr. Ichitarô, was born.

CHAPTER VII.

FOREIGN POLICY OF THE TOKUGAWA GOVERNMENT.

AN exposition of the later career of Mr. Fukuzawa requires a preliminary review of the course of events connected with the foreign policy of the Tokugawa Government. As already stated in the third chapter, in 1853, Commodore Perry, American ambassador, came with a fleet to Uraga, with the object of arranging a commercial treaty between Japan and the United States. For this purpose he bore a document addressed to the Shogun in which his government expressed its request. After a short stay, he left Japan promising to come in the following year for a reply. The government of the Shogun was in great perplexity about the problem thus created. Copies of the American letter were sent to all the *daimyôs* *

*A daimyô was the feudal chief of a clan.

to ask their opinions concerning the course to be pursued. They immediately sent in answers and almost unanimously declared against the opening of the country. The government hurried forward defensive preparations. The military men from various clans flocked to Yedo and Kyoto with the expectation that they would be called upon to defend their country against the impudent intrusion of foreigners.

Shortly after the departure of the American squadron from Uraga, English, Dutch, and Russian vessels came to Japan on missions similar to that of the Americans. In February, 1854, Commodore Perry made his appearance a second time in Yedo Bay with a fleet of ten fully armed vessels, comprising such an array as had never before appeared in Japanese waters. After much deliberation and discussion, proposals and amendments, banquets and presents, a convention between Japan and the United States was agreed upon, providing for the relief of ships and sailors. During the two years following, similar conventions were concluded also with England, Russia, and the Netherlands.

These dealings with foreign nations produced the most intense excitement throughout the Empire. The old sentiment of hostility to foreign intercourse

showed itself in unmistakable intensity. The song of the "Black Ships" was heard everywhere. Two distinct parties came into existence, one of which wished to expel the "barbarians," as the foreigners were called by them, and the other were in favor of opening the country. The members of the latter party were principally connected with the Shogun's government and had become impressed with the folly of trying to resist the pressure of the outside world. The exclusion party was made up of the conservative elements in the country, who clung to the old traditions of Japan that had matured during the two centuries of the Tokugawa rule. Besides these conservatives, there was also a party composed of men who nourished a traditional dislike for the Tokugawa family. These men were glad to see the Tokugawa family involved in difficulties which were sure to overthrow it. These were chiefly found among the southwestern *daimyos*, such as Satsuma, Chôshu, Hizen, and Tosa. The lord of Mito, although connected with the Shogun's family, was bitterly hostile to the policy of holding any friendly relations with foreigners. He was, therefore, regarded as the head of the exclusion party, and many of

the disaffected *samurai* rallied about him as their champion and leader.

In execution of one provision of the convention, the United States government, in 1856, sent Townsend Harris as consul-general to Japan. He was a man of great patience and tact, and gradually worked his way into the confidence of the Japanese government. He became the counsellor and educator of the officials in everything pertaining to foreign affairs. The principal effort of Harris was the negotiation of a commercial treaty which should make provision for the conduct of trade in specified ports of Japan.

Baron Hotta, who was now at the head of the Shogun's cabinet, drafted a treaty of amity and commerce; and sent a representation to the Imperial court of Kyoto in December, 1857, stating the difficulty of exclusion and asking for the Emperor's sanction to the proposed treaty. But the Emperor Kōmei was a great hater of foreigners and much influenced by the exclusion party. Hence he strongly opposed the liberal policy of the Bakufu. No answer came even in January of the following year. Pressed on one side by Harris, and urged on the other side by his anxiety for his country, Baron

Hotta now went in person to the Imperial court. There he did his best to explain the impossibility of adhering to the old tradition, but the influence of the opposing party could not be overcome by him.

Thus the question of making the treaty had reached the climax of difficulty. None but a master-mind could solve this problem. Thereupon the Shogun appointed Ii Kamon-no-Kami, the lord of Hikone, to the responsible office of *Tairô*.* He was a man of rare abilities and great resolution and was an earnest advocate of the pro-foreign policy. On his appointment as *Tairô*, he dispatched a special message to Kyoto for the Imperial sanction of the treaty. Just at this juncture, two American men-of-war came to Shimoda and one of them proceeded up the Bay of Yedo. This news was immediately followed by a message reporting an arrival of Russian warships and saying also that they were soon to be followed by English and French squadrons which had been victorious in their war with China. Townsend Harris pointed out to the Bakufu the impossibility of exclusion, and the danger attending

* *Tairô* literally means Great Elder, and may be translated President-Senator. A *Tairô* was to be appointed in times of great urgency only and his authority was dictatorial.

adherence to the traditional policy. Thinking that waiting for the Imperial sanction might bring irreparable disasters upon Japan, Ii Kamon-no-Kami decided to assume the entire responsibility himself and at last signed the treaty in July, 1858. Similar treaties were concluded also with England, Russia, and the Netherlands in the following month and with France in October. These treaties provided for immediately opening Hakodate, Yokohama, and Nagasaki, and fixed dates for the opening of Hyôgo and Niigata. During the following ten years, similar treaties were concluded also with other nations.

The moment the conclusion of the treaties was made public, the anti-foreign party began to show an increased vehemence in their opposition. It was charged against the Shogun that in making the treaties without the Imperial sanction he had gone beyond his proper power. He was not the sovereign of Japan and never had been. He was only the chief executive under the Emperor. It was impossible, therefore, that the treaties made by the Shogun and not ratified by his sovereign should be regarded by the Japanese as legitimate and binding. Then Ii Kamon-no-Kami sought to crush the opposition

which assailed his policy. The lord of Mito who was the head of the anti-foreign party was compelled to resign and was condemned to confinement in his private provincial palace. Numerous other persons who had busied themselves interfering with his schemes and promoting opposition in Kyoto, li also imprisoned.

In March, 1860, li was assassinated by eighteen *rônins** of Mito who wished to avenge the imprisonment of their prince. His death was an irreparable blow to the Tokugawa Government. There was no one who could successfully assume his *rôle*.

The outrages which now succeeded each other with terrible frequency were not confined to the native members of the opposing parties. Foreigners, who were so essentially the cause of the political disturbances in Japan, were particularly exposed to attacks. In January, 1861, Heusken, the secretary and interpreter of the American legation, was attacked by armed assassins and mortally wounded. In the July following, the British legation was attacked by some *rônins* of Mito and Oliphant, the secretary

*It was an old feudal custom that, whenever the retainers of a *duimyo* wished to avenge any act without committing their lord, they withdrew from his service and became *rônins* which means masterless men.

of the legation, and Morrison, British consul at Nagasaki, were severely wounded. The foreign powers urged the Bakufu to take measures against such outrages, but it had almost no control over these lawless *rônins*.

CHAPTER VIII.

VISIT TO EUROPE.

THE anti-foreign sentiment began to show itself in the assassination of foreigners. If, according to the terms of the treaties, the ports of Hyôgo and Niigata had been opened at this time, the lives of foreigners would have been exposed to still greater danger. In view of these alarming difficulties, the Tokugawa Government decided to send envoys to Europe to ask for the postponement of the dates for opening these ports and for establishing certain concessions in Yedo and Osaka. Takenouchi and two other high officials of the Foreign Department were appointed for the mission. Their suite, about thirty-five in number, included three interpreters, three translators, and two physicians of the Chinese school. Genichirô Fukuchi, who is now a famous dramatist, was one of the interpreters. Mr. Fukuzawa was

among the translators, the others being Munenori Terashima and Shubyō Mitsukuri.

Besides his travelling expenses, Mr. Fukuzawa received from the government four hundred dollars, the largest sum that had ever found its way into his purse. He sent one hundred dollars of this to his aged mother at Nakatsu, and spent the rest in London purchasing English books.

In December, 1861 (the first year of Bunkyu), the envoys and suite left Japan in a British warship which had been sent to convey them to Europe. Supposing that European food would not suit their taste, they took with them hundreds of boxes of rice. For their accommodation at hotels, they also took dozens of large metal lanterns, various hand-lamps and candles. Dressed in *haori* and *hakama*, they each carried two swords, while their hair was tied up in top-knots. How odd all this must have seemed to the citizens of London and Paris!

After calling at Hongkong and Singapore, the ship landed its passengers at Suez, whence they crossed to Cairo. With their hearts set upon the European capitals, they crossed the Mediterranean and landed at Marseilles. Hastening on to Paris,



Mr. Fukuzawa in 1862.
(From a photograph taken at the Hague.)

they stayed there twenty days. They then visited in turn London, the Hague, Berlin, St. Petersburg, and Lisbon.

On the arrival of the party in Paris, some French officials came to meet them. After greetings were mutually exchanged, the envoys said to the officials, "We have a large party and a great deal of baggage. We hope that you will allow our attendants to lodge near us." The French officials promised to make such arrangements and inquired how many there were. When they heard the number, they said, "Very well, each of our large hotels can accommodate a dozen parties like yours." This sounded like exaggeration to the Japanese. When they went to their appointed hotel, they found that the statement was true. The hotel was a five-storied building with six hundred apartments. It could accommodate over a thousand guests. The servants numbered over five hundred. At first the Japanese were in constant danger of losing themselves in the hall-ways. Every room was warmed by steam in pipes and illuminated by brilliant gas-lights. In the dining-room every-thing was luxurious, and the Japanese brought the heartiest appetites to well appointed meals. Not even a great hater of foreign-

ers could have withstood these dainty dishes. Thus sumptuously entertained, they laughed at their folly in having brought rice, lamps and candles. They had no need to light their own lamps or to boil their rice. They were puzzled to know what to do with these burdensome things. At last, they gladly disposed of them in the form of a present to one of the French officials.

The European nations vied one with another in the cordiality of their reception of the Japanese. The Japanese were given every opportunity to inspect the army and navy, the manufactories, banks, churches, schools, clubs, and hospitals. They were also invited to the balls and evening parties of the fashionable circles. But they received the most cordial and extensive hospitality from the Dutch, who had been in friendly relations with Japanese for over two centuries. Especially did Mr. Fukuzawa and the other translators and interpreters who had a knowledge of the Dutch language greatly enjoy their time in the Hague.

The party made numerous blunders. On one occasion, some of them ordered the waiter to bring cigars. So bad was their pronunciation that the waiter returned with sugar. Their physicians bought

what they thought to be ginseng and it turned out to be powdered ginger.

The envoys arranged with the treaty-powers that the opening of the ports of Hyôgo and Niigata should be postponed for a period of five years from January, 1863. Having thus accomplished their mission, the party returned to Japan in December, 1862.

This journey through the important countries in Europe proved of inestimable advantage to the Japanese in extending their knowledge. Especially with Mr. Fukuzawa, who was thirsting for knowledge of Western things, was this the case. When he had visited California, there was not yet a railway in that state. At Suez for the first time he saw a line of railway. Later he found that all the principal cities of Europe were connected by a system of railways. He was greatly surprised at the speed of the trains. During his previous stay in America, he had carefully observed the manners and customs of Western people, so he now endeavored to gain information about political, social, and economic conditions. He sought to investigate those things which were too familiar to Europeans to need explanation but which were very difficult to study in Japan. What

was a newspaper? What was a bank and how was it organized? What were postal regulations? What was a conscription law, an election law, and a legislature? Such were important subjects for him, and some of them were so complicated that it took him a week or so to come to a tolerable comprehension of the terms. Everything he learned he wrote down minutely in a note-book. On his return to Japan, he published these notes in a book called *Seiyō Jijō* or "Things Western," which was eagerly read throughout the length and breadth of his country. Indeed no book contributed so much to opening the eyes of his countrymen who had been until then in utter ignorance of European affairs.

On his return to Japan, Mr. Fukuzawa continued in the service of the Foreign Office. In addition to performing his official duties, he continued industriously to write and to teach in his school.

CHAPTER IX.

THE NAMAMUGI AFFAIR.

DURING Mr. Fukuzawa's tour in Europe, the anti-foreign sentiment had reached its height. Foreigners were said to have desecrated the Japanese religion by climbing the sacred mountain Fuji.

Those Japanese who were in the service of foreigners were called "traitors." Native merchants who had engaged in foreign trade and dealers in foreign goods were obliged to close their stores. Numerous persons who had learned foreign languages were assassinated.

On the afternoon of September fourteenth, 1862, Saburô Shimazu, the uncle and guardian of the young prince of Satsuma, with his train and escort, was passing through Namamugi Village, near Kanagawa, in the province of Musashi, on his way home from Yedo. A riding party consisting of an English lady and three English gentlemen attempted to break through the line of procession. This act, being quite contrary to feudal etiquette, offended the Satsuma men beyond measure. Suddenly a soldier from the centre of the procession rushed upon the foreigners with a sword and struck Richardson, one of them, a fatal blow. Both the other gentlemen were also wounded, but the lady escaped unhurt. After riding a few rods, Richardson fell from his horse and immediately died from the effect of his wound.

The British government, which had hitherto shown good will towards Japan, was highly incensed. In February of the following year, a British squadron

of seven vessels, under the command of Admiral Kuper, appeared in Yedo Bay. The British *chargé d'affaires*, Lieutenant-Colonel Neale, sent a lengthy dispatch to the Japanese government, demanding the capture and punishment of the murderer of Richardson, and the payment of an indemnity of £ 100,000 by the Shogun's government and of £ 25,000 by the Satsuma clan. A decisive answer must be given within twenty days. Mr. Fukuzawa and two other translators were called at night to the residence of Matsudaira Iwami-no-Kami, *bugyo* of Foreign Affairs, to translate the dispatch. They were engaged all night at the task. How should the government answer? The authorities as well as the people were filled with fear and anxiety about the consequences. Notwithstanding this grave difficulty, the Shogun left for Kyoto to pay homage to the Emperor. Meanwhile twenty days elapsed. Then the government asked Colonel Neale to wait another twenty days. After much discussion the request was granted; but the authorities could not come to any decision. During this time, the whole city of Yedo was in great excitement, and one rumour after another arose. It was actually reported that war would break out on a specified day. The time extension of

twenty days was consumed in fruitless discussion and ten days more were granted. In this way the day for the answer was repeatedly postponed. To add to the trouble, the French minister intimated to the government that France was in sympathy with Great Britain in the affair in question and that, in the event of war, her warships would join the British warships in Shinagawa Bay. The authorities were alarmed by the threat, but yet could arrive at no conclusion. While they were hesitating, the day appointed for the answer drew near. Finally there remained only two days before the answer had to be given. Then a proclamation was issued in the city of Yedo to the effect that in case war were declared the event should be signalized by the firing of rockets at the *Hama* Palace (the present *Imyōkwan*) and that at this signal the citizens should prepare for war. At the Egawa drill ground on the beach of Shinsenza, every cannon was put in position with its muzzle towards the bay, in order that it might be fired at a moment's alarm. The citizens commenced preparations running hither and thither with their belongings. At this critical moment, Ogasawara Iki-no-Kami, Councilor of the Shogun's cabinet, and Asano Bitchu-no-Kami, Governor of Yokohama, took the whole

responsibility upon themselves and paid £100,000 to Colonel Neale. Thus the city of Yedo was saved from bombardment.

The British squadron then went to Kagoshima to demand the payment of the additional indemnity and the execution of the murderer. Negotiations failed to effect a settlement and the naval force was called upon to play its part. Three new valuable steamers, which the lord of the clan had recently purchased, were captured and burned. The Satsuma men became indignant and bombardment ensued. The batteries which lined the shore were dismantled by the British guns; and the city of Kagoshima was almost completely destroyed by fire. After this drastic lesson the money demanded was paid and this affair ended, although the murderer was not executed.

Meanwhile patriots whose motto was to "revere the Emperor and expel the barbarians" had flocked in great numbers to the Imperial court at Kyoto. The Emperor at last granted Mōri, the lord of Chōshū, an edict which ordered the expulsion of foreigners. On the tenth of May, 1863, the Choshu men began to fire upon foreign vessels which attempted to pass the Straits of Shimonoseki. The Emperor then determined to raise a great army for

the accomplishment of his purpose and to take the field in person. Conservative patriots and ignorant *rônins* joined his flag, and almost the whole nation was seized with a fanatic enthusiasm.

At this moment, the tables were unexpectedly turned. Through the joint influence of the Tokugawa Government and the lord of Satsuma, the Emperor was compelled to suspend his operations and to drive out of the Imperial city the Choshu men who had persuaded him to undertake the war. The Bakufu then obtained the Imperial sanction to the commercial treaties which were several years before concluded with the foreign nations. The Bakufu also gained the Imperial permission to chastise the Choshu clan as "traitors," and for that purpose sent a large army to Choshu. Both sides fought with varying success, until the Shogun's death in camp put an end to the war.

In December, 1866 (the second year of Keiô), the Emperor Kômei died and the present Emperor ascended the throne.

CHAPTER X.

SECOND VISIT TO THE UNITED STATES.

MR. Fukuzawa made a second visit to the United States. Several years previous to the time

just mentioned, the Shogun's government had requested Robert H. Bryan, who was then American minister, to purchase two men-of-war from his government on behalf of Japan. The sum of \$800,000 had been remitted to America through him. In 1863 or '64, a warship named *Fujiyama Kan* costing \$400,000 was received. But what had become of the rest of the money? No intelligence whatever had come from the government at Washington. The Bakufu, therefore, decided to despatch some delegates to America to negotiate about the matter. Tomogorô Ono, Auditor of Finance, Jutarô Matsumoto, and some other officials were appointed for the mission. As Mr. Fukuzawa was very anxious to see America once more, he repeatedly called on Ono, president delegate, and offered his services. His offer was accepted. The delegates and their suite set out on their voyage in January, 1867 (the third year of Keiô). In this year, mail-steamer service was opened between Japan and the United States and they were able to travel in the first mail-steamer that came to Japan, the "Colorado," a ship of 4,000 tons. After a quiet passage of twenty-two days, they reached San Francisco; whence they proceeded

to Washington by way of Panama and New York; and negotiations were commenced with Bryan, the ex-minister to Japan. They agreed to receive an iron-clad called "Stonewall" and many thousands of rifles for the money. They returned to Japan in June.

During this journey, Mr. Fukuzawa incurred the displeasure of his superiors. Though he was in the service of the Bakufu, he had no sympathy with it. On the contrary, he disliked it on account of its class system, its tyranny, and its conservatism. The delegates were also of conservative and tyrannical principles, and every step they took offended his progressive ideas. Hence it was natural that he argued with them almost every day. With Shimpachi Seki, an interpreter, and others, he attacked the incapacity and ignorance of the Bakufu authorities, and went so far as to say, "Such conservative government must be overthrown sooner or later." He also said that the forts off Hyôgo and in Shinagawa Bay represented a foolish waste of money and labor.

On his return to Japan, he was ordered by the *Bugyo* of Foreign Affairs to be confined to his residence as a punishment for his disobedience. He, however, was not distressed but was rather gratified to

find that the confinement afforded him leisure and tranquillity. He devoted all his time to teaching in his school and to writing and translation. He was soon after released and again resumed his official duties at the Foreign Office. But he was not at all satisfied with his position and resolved not to remain long in the service of the Bakufu.

CHAPTER XI.

THE MEIJI RESTORATION.

AT the time Mr. Fukuzawa returned from America, the Imperial court at Kyoto had steadily increased in power until the influence of the Yedo government was broken. The new Shogun Keiki, perceiving the anomaly of the duarchy and foreseeing that his government would not be able to govern Japan, requested the Emperor in October, 1867, to take back the supreme power to himself. This request was immediately granted and the Shogun soon resigned. In December of the same year, Hyogo and Niigata were opened to foreign trade; and foreign settlements were established in Yedo and Osaka. In the meantime, the Choshu clan had regained the favor of the Emperor. According to the advice of the chief men of the Choshu and Satsuma

clans, a thorough revision of official organization was effected. Important positions in the new government were filled by these men; and the Emperor being still a boy, the real supremacy seemed to be in their hands. Those clans which were hereditary vassals of Tokugawa regarded this state of things with much dissatisfaction and bitter jealousy. They persuaded the ex-Shogun Keiki to gather together an army to expel the Satsuma and Choshu men from the Imperial capital. On the pretence of paying homage to the Emperor, he started for Kyoto at the head of 30,000 men. When the Emperor heard this, he sent soldiers of Satsuma, Choshu, and Tosa, to meet the Bakufu army. After three days' hard fighting in the neighborhood of Kyoto, the Shogun was totally defeated and he returned to Yedo in a steam corvette. So bitterly did Keiki regret his undertaking that he was willing to go again to Kyoto to beg the Emperor's pardon. But his retainers would not permit him to do so. They decided upon an effort to restore the power of the Bakufu. Accordingly they held a conference to consider means for the attainment of their object. The Bakufu still had a powerful army, plenty of provisions and arms, and a strong fleet of ships. It was extremely doubt-

ful which side would eventually conquer—the Bakufu forces or the Imperial army. Thus the Empire was thrown into a state of commotion.

Mr. Fukuzawa did not show the least sympathy with either party. He had been promoted to the rank of an immediate vassal of the Bakufu and still retained his position of government translator. Yet he was not in sympathy with the Bakufu, as he was radically opposed to the absolutism and class system that characterized it. Nor did he care to support the Imperialists who were so blindly swept away by anti foreign spirit. They were so ignorant of affairs in the outside world that they seemed to him incapable of ruling Japan. Furthermore, he hated from the bottom of his heart both formality and officialism, while he had no ambition to attain political honors. Owing to the existence of Civil War, all negotiations with foreign powers were then suspended. Mr. Fukuzawa therefore had no work to do at his office ; but he went almost every day to the Shogun's castle in order to hear the news. One day he saw Mr. Hiroyuki Katô (who was until recently president of the Higher Educational Council) at the office. The latter was in court dress. Mr. Fukuzawa hailed him saying, " Good morning, Mr. Kato. What ! you are in

court dress ; what are you here for ?” “ Well, I wish to get an audience with His Highness the Shogun who has just returned from Kyoto,” was the reply. “ Aha, I see ! By the way, what will be the outcome of the present affair ? I suppose you know well whether war will break out or not. Please tell me.” “ What will you do if I tell you ?” “ What will I do ? Why, if war is certain to break out, I must pack and leave town ; if not, I can stay here in peace. Whether or not war will occur concerns me very much ; pray let me know quickly.” Kato said with a wry face, “ Pshaw ! I have no time to talk such nonsense with you.” “ Nonsense ? I am in earnest. My life is at stake. You may fight or make peace as you choose. As for me, the moment war begins, I will run away from town.” Kato hereupon grew angry and vouchsafed no further reply. This was how Mr. Fukuzawa felt on the subject at the time. When the Bakufu offered him a high appointment, he declined it on the pretence of illness ; and at length resigned his post as translator. Furthermore, he abjured his rank of *samurai* and became a *heimin* or commoner. At the same time, he declined longer to receive his salary from his clan.

The Imperial court mustered a large force from

many clans for the subjugation of the Bakufu. In February, 1868 (the first year of Meiji), General Saigô at the head of the army left Kyoto for Yedo. The subject clansmen of the Bakufu were determined to fight to the last, and thus to repay the favors of the founder of the Tokugawa *régime*. If both armies had fought with their utmost energy and persistence the result of the contest would have been difficult to conjecture. But the ex-Shogun firmly held to his original attitude of respectful submission to the Emperor, nor would he swerve a hair's breadth from it. In obedience to the counsel of Awa Katsu and Ichiô Ôkubo, his two highest officials, he declared that he would never take up arms against the Emperor, and so he retired to private life. The Imperial army, already in the southern suburb of the city, was waiting to begin the attack. Katsu met Saigô, assured him of the submissive temper of the ex-Shogun, and begged him to spare the city. It was done. But the fanatical retainers of Keiki, unwilling to yield, made the temple grounds of Uyeno their stronghold. On the fifteenth of May, they were attacked and routed, and the magnificent temple, the pride of the city, was laid in ashes. The seat of war was then transferred to the highlands of Aidzu, and thence to

Matsumaye and Hakodate in Yezo (the present Hokkaidô). Victory everywhere followed the Mikado's brocade banner. By July, 1869 (the second year of Meiji), all traces of the rebellion had disappeared; and the so-called "Meiji Restoration" had been fully realized. In October, 1870 (the third year of Meiji), the name of Yedo was changed to Tokyo, which literally means the "Eastern Capital"; and the Emperor removed to the castle in the new capital.

Soon after the downfall of the Bakufu, Mr. Fukuzawa was offered an appointment by the new government. But he declined the offer. The government renewed its invitation, offering him this time the post of superintendent of government schools; but he again declined. He did so, because his principles were in direct opposition to those of the new government, which was, in his estimation, quite conservative and ignorant of the current events of the world. The authorities had, indeed, opened the promised ports to foreign trade, but they had done so under the pressure of foreign powers and against their will. They merely awaited a favorable opportunity to expel foreigners and to close the country. Mr. Fukuzawa could not recognize any benefit in the

change of the government. Naturally he had no inclination to enter into the service of such a government. He had good grounds for his opinion of the new government. In July, 1869, the Duke of Edinburgh, a British Imperial prince, came over to Japan. Etiquette required that he be granted an audience by Their Majesties the Emperor and Empress at the palace. Foreigners were then considered unclean barbarians and the authorities were unwilling to admit one of them to the palace. So, before the prince entered the palace gate, they caused a religious ceremony of purification to be performed on his person, in order, as they supposed, to cleanse him of all uncleanness. This ceremony naturally elicited from foreign residents in the country both indignation and ridicule. Portman, then acting American minister, reported it to the Washington government under the heading of "A Purification of the Duke of Edinburgh." The report was in substance as follows: "The Japanese are very self-conceited recluses who usually treat foreigners like beasts. Here is an instance. The other day when the British Imperial prince was granted an audience by the Emperor, a Shinto rite of purification was performed on his body. In ancient times, water was

sprinkled over anything considered unclean in order to purify it. Since the invention of the art of making paper, paper has been substituted for water. Some pieces of paper called *gohei* are waved over unclean things for the same purpose. A *gohei* was used in the case of the British prince who is, to the Japanese, no other than an unclean creature." &c. &c. When told of this report by Shimpachi Seki, an interpreter in the American legation, Mr. Fukuzawa felt like crying for regret and mortification. At about this time, Seward, formerly secretary of state of the United States, visited Japan with his daughter. He was a celebrated statesman who exerted himself much for the emancipation of the American slaves. He had warm sympathy towards Japan before he visited the country; but now that he witnessed the actual state of things in Japan, all his sympathy chilled and vanished. He even said, "I am sorry to say that a nation with such prejudices and dispositions will not be able to preserve its independence."

Under the circumstances, Mr. Fukuzawa saw with keen insight that it was of vital necessity to open the eyes of the great mass of the people who had no knowledge about the outside world. This

seemed to him much more important than any political improvement. It was the root of every possibility, either of good or of evil. He determined to devote all his energies to this fundamental popular education. With this object in view, he extended his school and at the same time devoted all his spare time and energy to the work of translation and writing. His school has since developed into the present Keiô Gijuku, one of the largest, most progressive and best known educational institutions of modern Japan. The services rendered by his school and by his books to the formation of the New Japan will be described in the following two chapters. In those days, every ambitious man was eager to get an official appointment; but Mr. Fukuzawa was never affected with the mania. He preferred quietly to continue his work as educator and as author, vocations which were then among the most unattractive. This shows clearly how far-sighted and how great he was.

Afterwards the government became impressed with the folly of trying to return to the ancient policy of seclusion, and finally adopted progressive principles. Even then Mr. Fukuzawa had no inclination to enter into government service. In his Autobiography the following reasons are given for his persistent refusal

to meddle with politics: although a progressive policy was adopted, yet the class system was in existence as before; and government officials acted with arrogance. They were generally low in character; they lacked private virtues and behaved with licentiousness. His nature did not permit him to act in cooperation with them. In the conflict between the Imperialists and the Bakufu, most Bakufu vassals had made great show of loyalty to the Tokugawa family; but when the Bakufu fell, they at once went over to the new government and hunted for places. This fact dulled what political ambition he had. Lastly, when the new government was placed on a firm basis, every man, whether scholar or soldier, peasant or merchant, was anxious to get a position in it. Government service became the centre of ambition, and very few persons had the slightest idea of independence and individuality. This was an unavoidable result of the Confucian system of education. Mr. Fukuzawa perceived the vital necessity of inculcating in the masses of the people the essential principle that the independence of a nation consists in the independent spirit of the individuals composing it. He himself became an illustrious example of independence and individuality, and he adhered to this

independent and democratic principle throughout life. This is what so remarkably distinguished him from his contemporaries.

THE DREAD OF ASSASSINATION. At this point, it is appropriate to refer to the great personal danger to which Mr. Fukuzawa was long and constantly exposed. It has already been stated that ignorant and conservative people wanted to close Japan against foreigners who were regarded as unclean barbarians. They not only hated foreigners, but they also extremely hated scholars of progressive ideas, especially persons versed in Western learning, whom they called "traitors." After the assassination of Ii Kamon-no-Kami, assassinations had become rather frequent. Among those persons who had acquired a knowledge of Western conditions and customs, the victims of assassination were specially numerous. During the years 1862—74, such persons were at the constant risk of assassination. Some intimate friends of Mr. Fukuzawa had been attacked by ignorant *ronins*, and he himself who was also regarded as a traitor was always in the dread of assassination. So during these years, he managed to avoid going out at night; and whenever he was obliged to travel, he assumed a false name in order to conceal his identity. In 1864

(the first year of Gwanji), he went to his town Nakatsu with a view to persuade some young men of his clan to study the arts and sciences of the West. On his return voyage, a storm arose and the ship in which he sailed was obliged to stop at a harbor. Imagine his surprise to find that the harbor was Murotsu in Chôshû, which was so notorious for its anti-foreign sentiment! The ship stayed there a few days. One day he went ashore and visited a barber's shop. The barber spoke zealously about the necessity of overthrowing the Bakufu and expelling foreigners from the country. Children playing thereabout were loudly singing a song in which similar sentiments were expressed. Soldiers, variously clad and with guns on their shoulders, deported themselves very haughtily in the streets. If his identity had been betrayed, he might have been killed by them on the spot. But his assumption of a false name saved him from such an unhappy fate.

In 1870 (the third year of Meiji), Mr. Fukuzawa again visited Nakatsu for the purpose of bringing to Tokyo his aged mother and his young niece. The residents of Nakatsu, who were of anti-foreign prejudices, entertained extreme hatred towards him, and some of them even awaited a convenient oppor-

tunity to assassinate him. But he had at the time no knowledge of their intention ; so he stayed there for some time. A cousin of his by the name of Sôtarô Masuda was among those who cherished designs against his life. Mr. Fukuzawa and Masuda had during their boyhood been intimate playmates ; but the latter had since become a very conservative patriot. He afterwards joined General Saigô in his so-called " rebellion " and fell at Kagoshima. Masuda had determined to assassinate Mr. Fukuzawa. In order to execute his purpose, he one night proceeded with a sword to Mr. Fukuzawa's house. As he secretly watched through a window, he observed Mr. Fukuzawa, quite ignorant of danger, pleasantly talking over *saké* with a certain Hattori. The would-be assassin waited and waited for the departure of the visitor ; but they both drank and talked until the small hours. Masuda at length tired of waiting, abandoned his purpose and departed. The night before embarkment, Mr. Fukuzawa with his mother and niece lodged at an inn at Unoshima Harbor, three miles west of Nakatsu. The innkeeper, who shared the views of Masuda, also desired the death of Mr. Fukuzawa. Accordingly he planned the assassination of the latter with several young

men of the place. At a signal given by the inn-keeper, these young men came, sword in hand, and surrounded the inn. Mr. Fukuzawa was indeed at the "Jaws of Death," though he knew not of it. But curiously enough, as the assassins were about to enter the house, they had a difference as to who should strike the first blow. Each contended for the bloody honor and a stormy dispute ensued. While they were quarreling, day broke; so they gave up their murderous intention and went away.

Mr. Fukuzawa was so much at the risk of assassination, that in his residence at Mita a special place of concealment was provided. Part of the floor was built higher than was usual and underneath it was a hiding-place, wherein he intended in case of danger to conceal himself.

CHAPTER XII.

THE KEIO GIJUKU.

IT has already been narrated how Mr. Fukuzawa began, in the winter of 1858 (the first year of Ansei), to teach the Dutch language to a few young *samurai* at Teppôzu. In 1860, on his return from America, he gave up teaching Dutch and began instead to teach English. Then his students numbered between

forty and fifty, and in 1867 (the third year of Keiō) the number had increased to eighty. At this time, excitement was running high throughout the Empire over the fanatic proposal to expel foreigners; and advocates of Western learning were in consequence at the constant risk of assassination. But Mr. Fukuzawa continued to teach with calmness. The Bakufu university "Shōheikō" and every other school, government or private, had gone out of existence with the single exception of his school. In December, 1867, Teppōzu was made a foreign settlement; whereupon his school was removed to Shinsenza, Shiba Ku, where a school-house was built with a boarding-house attached. During his second visit to the United States, Mr. Fukuzawa had bought as many English books as his allowance from the Bakufu permitted, these being many dictionaries of different kinds and a large number of works on geography, history, law, political economy, mathematics, and other branches of learning. The students each enjoyed the privilege of borrowing these books which were the very first copies imported to Japan. Owing to these circumstances, the students steadily increased in number. Up to this time, the school had had no name. Soon after the removal to

Shinsenza, it was given the name Keiô Gijuku after the name of the era. At this time, the struggle between the Imperialists and the Bakufu party was raging, and Yedo was a scene of commotion and confusion. Daily business of the city was suspended : shops, theatres, public halls, restaurants were closed. The surroundings were extremely unfavorable to quiet teaching. Moreover, most of the students, being *samurai* of different clans, were obliged to leave the school to enlist as soldiers ; and the school was for two or three days reduced to only eighteen students. Mr. Fukuzawa, however, was not in the least discouraged and did not stop teaching even a day. The battle of Uyeno (Uyeno Park of to-day) took place on the fifteenth of May. On that day he commenced to teach Wayland's "Political Economy," which had just arrived from abroad. While he was lecturing, the report of guns was continually heard, but the battle-field being about four miles distant he lectured on and did not pay the slightest attention to the firing. During the lecture, some of the students stole away and went up on the roof of the school-building to see the smoke of battle. While Mr. Fukuzawa thus continued to teach with calmness and perseverance, the desire for a knowledge of Western

things gradually spread in spite of the war, and the number of his students began again to increase. At that time, there was no other school in the Empire wherein Western learning might be acquired. Mr. Fukuzawa said for encouragement to his students: "Many years ago, most European countries were conquered by Napoleon Bonaparte. Holland with its colonies was invaded by his armies; and there was no place in the world to hoist her flag but Deshima in Nagasaki, Japan, which was then a Dutch settlement. Here at Deshima the Dutch flag was hoisted and thus the independence of Holland was not destroyed for a single day. The Dutch speak of this fact with pride. Now, our school is a Deshima for Western learning in Japan. We are preserving it through this turbulent period. Our school has never ceased work even a day: and as long as the Keiô Gijuku exists, Japan may be counted one of the civilized nations. My students, you need not trouble yourselves about current events in the least."

After some time, the war came to an end and peace was restored throughout the country. But the new government was too busy with political reorganization to pay any attention to educational

affairs. As late as the time when the clans were abolished and the feudal system was destroyed, foreign languages, the sciences and arts of the West were taught in no other school. At the close of the war, the number of students in the Keio Gijuku rapidly increased. During the three years ending with 1871 (the fourth year of Meiji), the Keio Gijuku had an average attendance of three hundred students. Many of them were young *samurai* who had fought during the war. Those from Tosa province wore long swords and looked as if they were ready to draw them on the slightest provocation. They sometimes wore women's red garments which, they told with pride, they had captured at Aidzu. In dealing with these unruly students, Mr. Fukuzawa experienced no small difficulty. He made some simple regulations for their discipline. Among others, the lending and borrowing of money, and scribbling on walls, *shôji*, and desks, were strictly prohibited. When he found scribbling on the *shôji*, he would cut away the disfigured part and tell the students in the room to mend the place. If obstinate students would not obey his command, he shrugged his shoulders, grinned, and assumed an attitude as if he were going to fight with them. He was so tall

and so strongly built, that they would cower and beg his pardon.

About 1871 Mr. Fukuzawa began to charge the students a small monthly tuition fee. This was the origin of the present custom of charging monthly fees. Up to that time, it had been customary in private schools for students twice a year to give their teachers some presents in compensation for teaching. The presents, which consisted of money or goods, were wrapped up in paper; and the amount was determined by the students. Mr. Fukuzawa saw the absurdity of this custom. He thought that, in respect of remuneration, teaching was not in the least different from any other kind of work. Hence it was quite right to demand a sum of money for teaching. This thought induced him to fix the fee to be paid by students; and he told them to bring the money without the customary envelope. Yet at first the students did not dare to do this. The money was brought in an envelope with a *misuhiki** and a *noshi*.† He said, "These things are very troublesome for counting the money"; and taking the money out of

* A fine paper cord (usually of white and red color) for tying up presents.

† A piece of fancy paper always attached to the envelope of a present.

the envelopes in their presence, he returned the envelopes to them. Now-a-days monthly fees are common and regarded as a matter of fact ; but at this time, they were quite a novelty, and naturally enough the students as well as the public thought his act very vulgar.

During this time, the number of students had been steadily increasing and the school-building was found too small for their accommodation. Hence in the spring of 1871 (the fourth year of Meiji), the Keio Gijuku was removed to its present site at Mita, Shiba Ku. A large mansion with spacious grounds which formerly belonged to the lord of Shimabara had there been purchased for the school. At the same time, Mr. Fukuzawa's residence was also removed to the new location. It may be remarked in passing that the school-building at Shinsenza was sold to the Kôgyokusha, a well-known private educational institution, which remains in the same place to this day. The parlors and sitting rooms of the palace at Mita were turned into class-rooms ; and the maids-of-honor apartments into a boarding-house. The ground is thirty times as large as that of the former site ; and the building was very much better. The site is remarkably well suited for a school. The air is

pure, the neighborhood is comparatively quiet and retired ; and a beautiful view of Shinagawa Bay is to be seen below.

The number of students continued to increase ; and in 1872, it had become about four hundred. About this time, the expansion of the school obliged Mr. Fukuzawa himself to discontinue teaching. The teaching was now left entirely to some graduates of the school who several years before had begun to assist in this work, while he confined himself exclusively to the duties of superintendent. On the other hand, Mr. Fukuzawa was very busy writing books and translating English works, by which means he earned his livelihood. He did not appropriate to private use a single penny from the school treasury, but now and then he spent his own money on the improvements of the school. It was not infrequent that he gave pecuniary help to some of the teachers.

Until 1874, the instruction of the Keio Gijuku was directed chiefly to a mastery of the meaning of English books. Now that the intercourse of the Japanese with foreigners was becoming more and more frequent, speaking and writing English were found to be of vital importance. Hence in 1873 (the

sixth year of Meiji), two Americans were engaged as teachers. Since then, the school has had continuously in its service a larger or smaller number of foreign teachers. Not long afterwards, by the advice of the Americans, the Keio Gijuku was organized into a college on almost the same footing as American colleges. Mathematics, physics, chemistry, botany, political economy, history, law, and other common branches were included in the curriculum. English, however, continued to be the most important subject.

In 1874 (the seventh year of Meiji), a Primary Department for children was attached to the Keio Gijuku.

In the spring of 1875 (the eighth year of Meiji), an auditorium was built close by the school-building, the training for speaking and debating having been found to be an important part in a complete education. Here teachers and students might speak on any subject and they met two or three times a month for speaking and debating. Such meetings continue to be held to this day. Mr. Fukuzawa spoke at almost every meeting. The students could not receive his personal instruction in the class-room. It was only in the auditorium that they could enjoy the privilege of hearing his opinions. His profound

thoughts, his ideas regarding the secrets of how to get on in the world, his opinions on literature, finance, and a great variety of other subjects, found expression in the auditorium. His addresses exercised a most profound influence over the education, ideals, and character of the students.

A word about the origin of public speaking in Japan may not here be out of place. Strange to say, the Japanese had not known the art of public speaking before Meiji. Mr. Fukuzawa introduced this art into Japan; and the Keio Gijuku auditorium was the first building of its kind constructed within the country. In the spring of 1873 (the sixth year of Meiji), Mr. Fukuzawa came across a small treatise on the art of public speaking. As he thought that it would be a great benefit to introduce the art to the Japanese public, he translated and published this booklet. He experienced, he says, no small difficulty in rendering the words, "speech", "debate," "pass," "reject," and "second." He and his disciples proceeded to apply the theories set forth in the book. By means of assiduous practice, they became able to present their views to a public audience in a clear, convincing and attractive form. It is said that Mr. Fukuzawa derived great profit, in the way of indirect sugges-

tion, from listening to a famous story-teller named Hakuyen. With the ardent desire to extend the knowledge and the practice of the art of public speaking throughout the Empire, he and his followers endeavored to persuade their friends to follow their example. But the new art gained few devotees. There was at this time a society of scholars known as the "Meiropusha" of which Mr. Fukuzawa was a member. Here the champion urged the claims of public speaking, but his advocacy was all in vain. Arinori Mori, an earnest advocate of Western learning who afterwards became Minister of Education, ventured the opinion that the Western custom of public speaking was practicable only in the Western languages; that Japanese was suitable only for conversation and was quite inadequate for addressing public bodies. To this Mr. Fukuzawa replied, "Is it possible that one can converse freely in one's mother tongue and yet cannot speak before an audience? Certainly Japan has long been familiar with what may fairly be called a kind of public speaking. The *bonzes* and story-tellers often address large audiences. Surely then it is reasonable to believe that we scholars can do as well as they." This was his argument; but he spoke to deaf ears. Some days later, the

same society met again. Among the topics of conversation was the new art; and again the majority spoke of it discouragingly. Then the dauntless champion hit upon a clever expedient. He said to his friends in an artless way, "Gentlemen, I have something to tell you. Will you please give me a moment?" They assented and he went on: "Pray, be seated on both sides of this table; I will speak here." Then he rose at one end of the table and began to speak about the Formosan Expedition which was the burning question of the day. He continued for about an hour very fluently, and they listened with unflagging attention. When he finished he took his seat and asked them whether they had understood him. They answered that they had heard him with much interest and had understood him perfectly. "Well, then," said Mr. Fukuzawa in triumph, "so you see you are quite wrong in saying that one can not speak in Japanese before an audience. I have been speaking in Japanese, and you have all understood me. Isn't that a speech? So let us hear no more arguments against public speaking hereafter." They were all struck dumb, and from that day the battle was won. Since then the practice of public

speaking gradually became more and more general throughout the country.

In 1890 (the twenty-third year of Meiji), a University Department with the three courses in Literature, Law, and Economics, and a Commercial Department were established. Then His Majesty the Emperor graciously made a contribution to the funds, in recognition of the services rendered by the institution to the cause of learning. Following the Imperial example, many other persons who were interested in the Keio Gijuku also generously contributed to the Endowment Fund.

The Keio Gijuku is now the greatest private institution in Japan and its students number about 1,700.

A constant cause of trouble to this institution has been the state of its finances. There has been collected more or less of a maintenance fund, but the interest of this alone is of course totally inadequate for meeting the current expenses and for making improvements which from time to time become necessary. The consequent necessity in the past of drawing on the fund itself and the possibility of still further encroachments on it in the future have naturally created serious anxiety for the

future of the institution. Hence the Keio Gijuku is now appealing to the public for pecuniary contributions. It is hoped and confidently expected that the public may be sufficiently appreciative and generous to contribute the funds which are necessary to perpetuate this useful and appropriate monument to a noble and unselfish man.

MR. FUKUZAWA AND THE KEIO GIJUKU STUDENTS.

The Keio Gijuku was at its beginning a home school; and although it developed into a large institution, it still retained the essence of a home school, Mr. Fukuzawa being the spirit of it to his last day. His influence over the students was boundless. It is no exaggeration to say that there was no student in it but became before graduation a Fukuzawa in ideas, feelings, opinions, principles, and character. Mr. Fukuzawa was, as it were, a second father to every student. He loved them with all his heart, and treated them as he treated his own children. They entertained the same affection towards him that they did towards their parents. When students called on him, he met them gladly and joyfully talked with them. He would tell his wife or any member of his

family who happened to be near him, to "give these lads some sweetmeats"; and would tell the young visitors to make themselves at home. When students called on him for the first time, he would inquire about their birth-places, their social standing, the wealth and professions of their parents, their ages, their health, and their aims in life. He would ask, "Are you healthy? Is your father rich or poor? Have you any tact in dealing with people?" These questions he asked in order to make them think about their future. The following anecdote shows how he loved his students. One day a certain lieutenant-general who was quite a stranger called to see him. Mr. Fukuzawa had his servant inquire whether the visitor had any letter of introduction. The general had none. Mr. Fukuzawa declined to see him. The general was offended and thought, "I am a high officer of the Empire. He ought to know me by reputation. He is very impolite in declining to see me." But he thought again, "Oh, I am mistaken. He is a great man and his refusing to see me without any letter of introduction is not unreasonable. Fortunately I know a student in his college. So I had better get myself introduced to him by the student." He called on Mr. Fukuzawa again accompanied by

the student. This time he was gladly welcomed by Mr. Fukuzawa and a pleasant conversation was carried on between them for hours.

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE KEIO GIJUKU MEN.

About 12,000 men have attended the Keio Gijuku since its establishment and about 3,000 of them have graduated. They have engaged in different lines of work. Some of them are statesmen ; some are journalists ; some are educators ; some are government officials ; and a considerable number of them are business men. During the first years of its existence, they fought against the antiquated principles of the Chinese system of education and did their best in introducing Western knowledge and Western methods of education. During this period the Keio Gijuku made thinkers who were needed by the times ; and most of them worked as educators and scholars. The public regarded the Keio Gijuku as the sole agency concerned in introducing new knowledge from the West. When the new government, contrary to expectations of the people, began to adopt despotic measures, the Keio Gijuku men exerted themselves with a view to correct the government policy. They

argued against these oppressive measures and sought, by instructing the political leaders, to win them over to a liberal policy. During that time, the Keio Gijuku sent out many earnest politicians and champions of the people's rights. The government yielded to the demands of the people and granted liberty of speech and public discussion. Finally a constitution was promulgated and it was declared that a Diet should be established to represent the various interests of the nation. Then the people became too enthusiastic in their devotion to politics, and most men of ability sought occupation only in the public service. Consequently the various economic interests which are the source of national prosperity and which depend upon private initiative began to suffer. Then the Keio Gijuku men began to call the attention of the public to the prime importance of business interests, and most of them have been devoting themselves to the development of commerce and industries. Nine out of ten Keio Gijuku students of the present day aim at becoming business men. Almost half of the important positions in banks, manufactories, commercial firms in Japan, are filled by the Keio Gijuku alumni; and they are succeeding well. In the spirit of independence and self-respect, in common sense,

in the spirit of forbearance, in freedom from formalism, in the tactful dealing with people, in practical morality, in the ability to seize opportunities—in these qualities which are essential to business men, they have no superiors. These qualities are the characteristics of the Keio Gijuku men in general. In a word, each of them is a small Fukuzawa. Although Mr. Fukuzawa is now dead, his spirit and principles are kept alive by them; and there is every reason to believe that the Keio Gijuku will continue to be as prosperous as it was during his life.

CHAPTER XIII.

MR. FUKUZAWA AS A WRITER.

MR. Fukuzawa's career as a writer was commenced in 1860 (the first year of Banyi) and continued down to 1899 (the 32nd year of Meiji), that is two years before his death, the interval being a long period of forty years. His writings cover a wide range of subjects in language, science, politics, religion, and morals. Scarcely an important topic of human interest was left untouched by him. He wrote fifty-five works in more than one hundred volumes, not to speak of numerous articles inserted

in the *Jiji Shimpō* and many other essays not yet published.

His books were all published at his own cost. The proceeds from his writings constituted during forty years his sole income ; yet he thereby earned enough to support in ease and comfort his large family.

Mr. Fukuzawa wrote with a view to break down the ideas, beliefs, and customs of the Old Japan, and to substitute as a foundation for the New Japan the principles of Western civilization. His object was thoroughly to Westernize the nation as a whole, and in the attainment of this object the measure of his success was remarkable. Unlike most of his contemporaries, he wrote for the people in general and not chiefly for students and for the upper classes. Such being his purpose, he created a style of his own which is singularly adapted to people of every class. It combines in a most striking manner great lucidity and extreme simplicity. Prof. Denig says of his style : “ To deal with difficult subjects in a way that makes them perfectly intelligible to the most ordinary comprehension—this requires special gifts—gifts with which only a very few people in any age or any country are endowed. No matter on what subject

Mr. Fukuzawa wrote, there was striking lucidity about all he said. As a foreigner I may say that I know no Japanese writer whom it is easier to understand than Mr. Fukuzawa."

In the ability to treat profound and complicated subjects in plain language, Mr. Fukuzawa had no equal. His style is not only lucid and simple but it has also vigor and charm. Humor and sarcasm also appear in his writings. It is a special characteristic of his style that where vulgar and obscene things must be mentioned, they are spoken of in elegant language. In the happy use of similes and apt illustrations, his writings have never been surpassed. It is said that Mr. Chūshu Mishima, the celebrated scholar and writer, whenever lecturing on composition and rhetoric, cites Mr. Fukuzawa's style as the most perfect in the use of felicitous illustrations. In consequence of its simplicity and clearness, its vigor and directness, its ease and charm, its imagery and elegance, the "Fukuzawa style" or "Mita style" is justly famed throughout the Empire. Mr. Fukuzawa may therefore be truly designated the greatest Japanese writer of his time.

Mr. Fukuzawa owed, as he confesses in his Autobiography, much for his style to suggestions of

his master Kôan Ogata. The latter, when translating Dutch, grasped only the general idea and did not trouble himself about minor points, intelligibility being his all important principle. Mr. Fukuzawa was once translating a work on fortification by a Dutchman. His master said to him, "You must bear in mind that you are translating a book for the military classes which are as a rule illiterate and ignorant. So you must be careful not to use difficult expressions ; and you are advised not to consult any Chinese dictionary lest you may be tempted to employ difficult words." This advice became the guiding principle with Mr. Fukuzawa in writing and translation. He endeavored as far as possible not to make use of cumbrous Chinese characters which most writers take pride in using. Sometimes he had his manuscripts read to illiterate women and children, and wherever they could not understand, he found some difficult phrases which he without hesitation changed into easier ones.

The very first book written by Mr. Fukuzawa was "Vocabulary and Phrases in English, Chinese, and Japanese" which appeared in the autumn of 1860 (the first year of Banyen). It was by the publication of *Seiyô Jijô* or "Things Western" that he became

known throughout the Empire as an author. This work consists of three volumes, of which the first was brought out in July, 1866 (the second year of Keiō), the second in the winter of the following year, and the last in the autumn of 1869 (the second year of Meiji). The subjects treated in the first volume are: the forms of government, methods of taxation, national debts, postal systems, paper money, firms, foreign intercourse, military system, literature and the arts, schools, libraries, newspapers, hospitals, poor-houses, asylums for mutes and for the blind, lunatic asylums, kindergartens, museums, exhibitions, steam engines, steamships, railways, telegraphs, and gas-lights. In addition, it contains much historical information about the governments, armies, navies and finances of the chief Western countries. The second volume is a translation of Chambers' "Political Economy" and of two or three other works on the same subject. The third volume is a translation of portions of Blackstone's "Commentaries on the Laws of England" and of the section on "Taxation" in Wayland's "Elements of Political Economy." The contents of the first volume are simple and rather shallow descriptions of the things in the West which are now-a-days familiar even to school-boys. For

example, the chapter on "Newspapers" begins thus: "Newspapers are publications issued by companies for general circulation, intended to convey intelligence of current events." But since no such book had previously been published in Japan, these things were quite novel to the Japanese. Hence the first volume was welcomed by the public with such great enthusiasm that 182,000 copies of it were quickly sold—a sale that was quite extraordinary for a Japanese book. Since authors in Japan did not at that time enjoy the strict protection of copy-right laws, some cunning publishers in Osaka and Kyoto printed and sold pirated copies to the number of at least 100,000. No other book ever contributed so much towards opening the eyes of our countrymen who had been quite ignorant of affairs in the outside world. Even conservative patriots and ignorant *rônins* whose motto had been to "expel the hairy barbarians" began to modify their proposal after the appearance of this book. Afterwards, when the leaders of the new government decided to adopt a progressive policy and while they were yet ignorant of practical methods of procedure, they found in this book important help and guidance. Indeed "Things

Western" was, as it were, a pillar of fire illuminating the darkness of general ignorance.

"How to Handle the Rifle" appeared in September, 1866 (the second year of Keiô). The signal victory of the Chôshu clan in the battle against the Bakufu had been gained chiefly by rifles. Having heard of this, Mr. Fukuzawa thought that the rifle would after a few years come into general use. Fortunately he found an English book "On the Use of the Rifle." He was eager to translate it, but he was not equal to the task: for, though born in a military class, he had never even seen a rifle and consequently had no idea about the use of fire-arms. But fortunately a younger brother of his wife was then learning the art of firing the rifle. Mr. Fukuzawa had this youth bring his rifle, and, by the aid of directions in the book, he took the rifle to pieces and again put it together. After he had in this way obtained a practical knowledge of the rifle, he immediately set to work to translate the book. As this little book supplied a need of the time, many thousand copies of the translation were sold. About twenty years later when the translator met at the Koishikawa arsenal Major-general Murata, the inventor of the celebrated "Murata rifle," the latter

said to him, "In my youth when I began to learn gunnery, I got much instruction from your work "How to Handle the Rifle."

During the two years ending in August, 1869 (the second year of Meiji), the following books were brought out : A Guide to Travelling in the Western Countries ; The Eleven Treaty Powers ; Clothes, Food, and Utensils in the West ; Elements of Physics Illustrated ; the Western Tactics ; A Bird's Eye View of the Nations in the World ; The Intercourse between China and England ; the English Parliament ; the World's Geography.

Two of these may be singled out as worthy of special mention.

Elements of Physics Illustrated, which was published in the autumn of 1868, is a translation of some English and American authors ; but the illustrations therein are all taken from things Japanese, and the phraseology is extremely easy. It is the first book of the kind written in such simple Japanese ; so that it was very extensively read. Perhaps there has never been in Japan any other book which has contributed so much to popularize the principles of physics. Speaking of the reasons for writing this work, the author says, "When the country was opened

to foreign intercourse, it was an ardent desire with us, scholars of Western learning, to convert the masses of the people to progressive principles. As champions of the Western civilization, we endeavored to demonstrate the real merits of its fundamental principles as well as to expose the weaknesses of Chinese doctrines. We tried every means in our power for this purpose and none was more effectual than to persuade the ignorant by teaching them the principles of physics which do not admit gainsaying. It seems to me that every man young or old who, having once read a book on physics or having heard its principles explained, believes the truths of the science from the bottom of his heart must become a thorough devotee to Western knowledge and can never return to the old faith in Chinese doctrines. This having been proved by our experience, we determined to instruct the masses of the people in the principles of physics as the first means of winning them to our cause. But as it was a thing never dreamed of to make the innumerable people study the science in the original languages, the only way left us was to provide them with translations. There had, indeed, been published some translations on physics before this time ; but they were too

elegant and difficult in style for common people. These reasons induced me to translate this work."

The "World's Geography" was published in the spring of 1869 (the second year of Meiji). The author's purpose being to "make all the people as familiar with the names and situations of the countries in the world as they are with those of the provinces in their own country," it was written in a style suited to general readers. Consequently it was read very extensively, earnest readers being found especially among school-boys.

"Encouragement of Learning" in seventeen volumes was published one volume after another between the spring of 1872 (the fifth year of Meiji) and November, 1876 (the ninth year of Meiji). The principles maintained in the work being quite new to the Japanese, it had so wide a circulation that no less than 220,000 copies of the first volume were sold. In this work Mr. Fukuzawa attacked the errors of Chinese doctrines and for the first time clearly and boldly advocated the essential principles of the Western civilization. Mere forms of the Western civilization were treated in his previous works; this work was a gospel of its essence and spirit. He taught that "Heaven does not make one

man above another nor one man under another. All men are born equal in rank and rights ;" that the difference in their circumstances is caused mainly by their learning or ignorance ; learning is the only way to wealth and honor. "Heaven does not give wealth and honor to men but to their merits." But by learning he does not mean the knowledge of difficult words and verse-making which were over-estimated by Chinese scholars, but such knowledge as has close relations with practical life. The government being a mere representative of the people, its officials have no right to look down on the people. Individual liberty is sacred and inviolable. "If, therefore, officials interfere with this right, the people must remonstrate with them." Mr. Fukuzawa attacks despotic rule which is a characteristic of Confucianists, on the ground that it makes the people helpless and irresponsible. Individual independence is the foundation of national independence and prosperity. In deploring the helplessness and servility of the people in general he says, "Having been oppressed by despotism during hundreds of years, our countrymen have become servile, ignorant, helpless, dishonest, and destitute of a spirit of independence and honor. They have almost no

interest in affairs of the state. They do not know how to assert their own rights ; and they rely upon the government in every thing. Even those who are professedly trained according to the principles of Western civilization—almost all of them are busy with hunting for places and do not even try private undertakings. They well know how to act as rulers but are quite incapable of acting as private citizens. They are not free from the evils which pertain to the Chinese system. They are, so to speak, Confucianists clad in the external garb of Western civilization. It can be safely said that there is in Japan only the government and that there is no nation. Promoting Japan's civilization, maintaining her independence, leading this helpless nation, realizing their rights, and removing the evils of the Old Japan—all this is the mission left to us (Mr. Fukuzawa and his followers). It is our resolve to act the part of social reformers. Let us be up and doing." How great were the impressions made upon the people by these suggestions it would be difficult to overestimate. Mr. Fukuzawa thus sowed the seeds which subsequently matured into the agitations for extending the people's rights. To him is owed the honor of being the very first advocate of the people's rights. While thus

urging the people's rights, Mr. Fukuzawa did not neglect teaching the inviolability of state laws. He emphasizes the duty of the people to obey the government and national laws, and speaks of the wrong of private punishment and of the assassination of political opponents. In the way of illustration, he criticises the vengeance of the famous forty-seven *rônins* of Akao on the enemy of their dead lord. Avenging the death of one's master or father by killing his enemy had for centuries been recognized by public opinion as morally right and even laudable. At certain periods murder of this kind had even been permitted under government license. One who had avenged the death of his master or father had been universally admired. Special admiration, even adoration, was accorded to the *rônins* of Akao. Consequently Mr. Fukuzawa's argument was extensively regarded as sacrilege. Another argument, however, occasioned still greater popular excitement. Speaking of the proper attitude to be taken by a people in case their government becomes extremely tyrannical, Mr. Fukuzawa says, "The people must not stoop to such a government, but at the same time it is not advisable to resist it by force. The best way left for patriots is individually to remon-

strate against the tyranny, determined to die martyrs. The death of a martyr is truly worth death. But so-called 'Loyal Retainers,' much talked of in Japan, are not martyrs. They did not fight for the sake of social well-being, but for their master's interests. Some of them died simply in a war between two imperial dynasties which were contending for supreme power, and their death did not contribute anything to the advancement of civilization. They died in vain. They may be likened, so far as their mode of death is concerned, to an honest servant who, having lost on the way of an errand a sum of money entrusted him by his master, has killed himself as an apology to his master. In my judgment Sôgorô Sakura* is

* Sôgorô Sakura was a village head in the clan of Sakura in the province of Shimôsa who lived about two hundred and fifty years ago. The lord of Sakura being an imbecile, the clan administration was in the hands of some knavish officials, who, in order to enrich themselves, increased the weight of taxes to such an extravagant extent that the peasants were driven to the verge of starvation. Sôgorô, who was a public-spirited and chivalrous man, determined to risk life, and all that was dear to him, to relieve the sufferings of his fellow-peasants. He, in conjunction with the heads of all the other villages in the clan, repeatedly petitioned the clan authorities for abatement of the rate of taxes but in vain. He, then, proceeded to Yedo and presented to the Shogun a memorial protesting against the tyranny of his lord. Even to protest was at that time a capital offence. Hence, Sôgorô was crucified and his four children were decapitated in the presence of a multitude of sympathizing spectators. But his protest had the desired effect: the burdens of his fellow-peasants were lightened.

the only martyr in Japan." This argument was exceedingly shocking to his countrymen who consider loyalty to the Imperial house as the culmination of virtue. Since the people interpreted his argument as applicable to the much glorified death of Masashige Kusunoki,** the ideal type of loyalty, it was considered a gross insult to the loyalty and patriotism of the Japanese. Popular indignation became intense. Most of the Tokyo newspapers assailed Mr. Fukuzawa with bitter adverse criticism, and he was often spoken of as a "traitor." Towards the close of 1874 (the seventh year of Meiji), attacks and slander reached their climax and he was deluged with

** At the beginning of the reign of the Emperor Go-Daigo (who reigned 1319—1339), the throne and the nation were alike trampled under foot by the Hôjô "Regent" at Kamakura. The Emperor undertook to overthrow the military usurpation at Kamakura and a number of loyal patriots came to his help. Among them Masashige Kusunoki, also called Nankô, is most celebrated. His military valor and his unswerving loyalty to the throne inspired many warriors to loyal exertions and in consequence the Imperialists gradually increased in power, until they were able, in 1333, to destroy the Hôjô family. But the Emperor was not destined long to enjoy in peace his supreme power. Takauji Ashikaga, who desired to become shogun and to usurp supreme power, raised a standard of rebellion and mustered a large army. At the head of this army, he marched against Kyoto. Kusunoki proposed to the Emperor an ingenious plan of operations, but unfortunately it was rejected and his advice ignored. He was compelled to bear the brunt of battle against overwhelming forces at Minatogawa, near Hyôgo.

letters of menace. Even many of his friends advised him publicly to renounce his opinion. He was constantly exposed to the imminent risk of assassination. He thereupon wrote to one of the most important Tokyo newspapers, the *Chōya Shimbun*, under an assumed name, a long article in which he most eloquently defended his former argument. This defence proved effective, and popular clamor gradually subsided.

In 1872 (the fifth year of Meiji), the lunar calendar was abolished and the Gregorian system adopted by the government; but the people in general did not know the reasons for the change. Then Mr. Fukuzawa wrote "On the Change of the

and was there hopelessly defeated. He and a little band of personal followers killed themselves rather than surrender. Then Ashikaga entered the Imperial capital with a large force and the Emperor was obliged to seek safety in flight. Thereupon Ashikaga set an Imperial prince on the throne and he himself assumed real sovereignty. But as Go-Daigo continued to be recognized by many as the rightful sovereign, the Imperial power was split into two rival branches, called the Southern (legitimate) and the Northern (usurping) Courts.

Masatsura, the son of Masashige, and some other loyal patriots endeavored to restore the power of the Southern Court; but after sixty years of strife and misery, the Northern Court triumphed in 1392, the representative of the Southern dynasty handing over to it the Imperial regalia. Go-Daigo died early in the struggle.

Masashige Kusunoki is held in admiring remembrance to this day by his grateful countrymen as the model of loyalty and patriotic devotion.

Calendar" giving an explanation for the change. It was a very small book consisting of about ten pages and only six hours were spent in writing it. The price was a few *sen* per copy. It sold so well that two or three months later the net profit amounted to over 700 *yen*. The meditations thereby suggested to the author he himself records: "I am surprised that six hours' labor should earn 700 *yen*! Is it right for a scholar to get so large an amount for so little labor?" Further sale during two or three more months brought the total income of the author from this little pamphlet up to 1,500 *yen*. In February, 1873 (the sixth year of Meiji), he translated a work on book-keeping—the very first book of the kind ever published in Japanese. He says, "Among my works this one gave me the greatest amount of trouble and pains." This work was followed by the "Art of Public Speaking" to which reference has been already made.*

In March, 1875 (the 8th year of Meiji), appeared "On Civilization," which sets forth the true significance of civilization and gives a brief history of civilization in Europe and in Japan. Most of the

* See the chapter on the Keio Gijuku.

views are derived from Buckle's and Guizot's works on the history of civilization in Europe. Later works published by Mr. Fukuzawa were: "Advice to Scholars;" "On Decentralization" published in November, 1876; "Political Economy, for General Readers" (November, 1877); "Miscellaneous Essays" (January, 1878); "On Currency" (April, 1878): "On the People's Rights, for General Readers" (April, 1878); "On the Power of the State, for General Readers" (July, 1878); "A Suggestion for Political Reform" (July, 1879); "About Current Events" (July, 1881); "The Course of Events" (1882); and "On the Imperial Court" (May, 1882).

With the exception of "Political Economy," "Miscellaneous Essays," and "On Currency," the above works were written with the view to re-establish harmony between the government and the people, or rather disaffected politicians and scholars, between whom bitter antagonism had arisen.

Since the adoption of a progressive policy, the government had been busy with political and social improvement. The measures adopted by the government did not, however, satisfy political enthusiasts. After it was proposed by Mr. (afterwards Count) Itagaki and others to open a national as-

sembly, zealous politicians began, both through the press and on the platform, to demand an extension of the people's rights. Exasperated by this agitation, the government adopted repressive measures against the agitators. A bitter antagonism thus rapidly developed between the government and the professed champions of the people's cause. The contention became most embittered in the years 1875-6 (eighth and ninth of Meiji). With a view to bring about a better understanding and to re-establish harmony between the parties to the strife, Mr. Fukuzawa wrote "Advice to Scholars" and "On Decentralization." In the former work, he assured those who sought to secure the people's rights that the government also shared their progressive views. He reproached them for attacking the government merely because they vainly coveted positions in it. He added that the duties, activities, and opportunities of educated men were not confined to politics; but that industry, commerce, private enterprises of every kind demanded with equal urgency the attention of such men. In his work "On the People's Rights, for General Readers," he said that the rights of the people could not be realized without general advancement. He advised the champions of the

people's cause to gain independent livelihood and to conduct themselves well, before they advocated the people's rights. In "A Suggestion for Political Reform" (July, 1879), he said that both progressive and conservative principles were indispensable to the attainment of true political progress; that the only hope to preserve national peace lay in adopting a constitutional government similar to that of England where administration is in the hands of a party cabinet.

The work last mentioned was speedily followed by a lengthy article on the "Necessity of Opening a National Assembly" which was inserted in a disguised style in the "leader" columns of the *Hôchi Shimbun*. The article was published in successive parts which continued for about twelve days, beginning July 29, 1879. Soon after the appearance of this article, owing either to it or to a remarkable coincidence, almost every newspaper in Tokyo began to discuss the same question. Even the provincial press took up the discussion with surprising energy. Gradually the proposal enlisted the enthusiasm of every patriot, until in the beginning of the following year, a memorial supported by over 80,000 men was presented to the government, petitioning it to open a

national assembly. The demand of the people for the establishment of such an assembly continued until the government (Oct., 1881) declared by proclamation that an Imperial Diet should be opened in 1890.

In July, 1881, when the national excitement over the proposal to establish a national assembly reached its culminating point, Mr. Fukuzawa published "About Current Events" in order to divert the attention of the people from the overwrought agitation. In this work, he blamed the people for their excessive zeal in pressing political demands, and reminded them of the greater importance of promoting national wealth and power. If the people should continue their struggle against the government, the independence of the Empire might be endangered by foreign aggressions. He, therefore, advised the political enthusiasts to exert themselves for the strengthening of national power. He added: "We have a fable to the following effect. A top-shell hid himself in his shell, considering himself quite comfortable and beyond the reach of harm. But while he was thus enjoying himself, he suddenly heard outside an unusual noise. Putting his head out of the shell, he looked about and, to his great

surprise, found himself with his shell on live coals. The country being a shell to us, we must not forget for a moment to protect it against foreign aggression. The struggle for existence is raging even in the so-called 'civilized countries.' Unless we are on guard, the calamity of the top-shell might befall us. I regret that the public are too enthusiastic with the proposal for opening a national assembly to pay any attention to this matter."

CHAPTER XIV.

MR. FUKUZAWA AS A JOURNALIST.

THE necessity to the progress of Japan of an independent and impartial journal led Mr. Fukuzawa in the spring of 1882 (Meiji 15) to start the *Jiji Shimpō*. During about fifteen years after its establishment, he wrote most of its leading articles; and those written by his sub-editors were either written at his suggestion or revised by him. The editorial staff was almost exclusively recruited from the graduates of the Keio Gijuku. Mr. Fukuzawa then trained them in both style and thought specially for the work.

Mr. Fukuzawa possessed exceptional ability and many special qualifications for the work of journalist.

His disregard of rank and titles, his impartiality and spirit of independence, his boldness in expressing his views, his thoughts which were always in advance of those of his age, his power of accurate and minute observation which gave him a keen insight into the actual state of things, his sound common sense, his learning which was very broad, though perhaps not very profound, his power of generalization, his strong and vivid imagination, and his unrivalled style—all these combined made him an ideal journalist. The *Japan Daily Advertiser* says, "For vigor and clearness, as well as for the power of homely and telling illustration, the editorial columns of the *Jiji Shimpô* of which he (Mr. Fukuzawa) was the guiding spirit, have been hardly matched by any other journal of any land, not even excepting the *New York Tribune* in the best days of Horace Greely."

The *Jiji Shimpô* has had no connection with any political party. It is impartial and independent in its views, and consequently it has great influence with people of every class. Among the leading Japanese journals, it has the largest circulation and the greatest influence. The *Kobe Chronicle* is quite right in saying, "This journal (the *Jiji Shimpô*) has been sometimes compared with the *London Times*. We venture to

say that for impartiality, broad-mindedness, and a keen sense of right and justice, the *Jiji Shimpô* under the editorship of men trained by the Sage of Mita is far and away the superior of the London journal, which in some respects is narrow in the extreme. It is to the honor of the *Jiji Shimpô* that it has never hesitated to take the unpopular side."

Most of the leading Japanese journals represent special interests. Some of them deal principally with politics and others with business. Some journals attach special importance to literary matters. Consequently they find subscribers only in particular circles. The *Jiji Shimpô*, on the other hand, is many-sided. In its columns, almost every subject receives discussion which is proportioned to its importance. Politics, finance, industry, commerce, scientific discoveries and inventions, art, literature, even sports, all receive clear and concise treatment. It combines in itself the merits of all other journals, so that any person of any class can find something of interest to him in it.

The *Jiji Shimpô*, unlike most other papers, exercises great prudence in publishing news of a purely personal nature. Slander or even a semblance of it is never found in its columns; so that one who

takes only this journal need expect no information about personal or social scandals. Mr. Fukuzawa used to say to its editors, "You have the liberty to write your opinion about any subject. But when criticizing individuals, you must not write any thing but what you dare say in their presence. You must abstain from slander, for that does not become an honorable gentleman."

No other journal has contributed so much to the progress of Japanese civilization. It has made contributions in every field of activity, but its efforts have been directed primarily to the reform of customs and manners. It has rendered a most important service in breaking down a highly injurious evil of long standing: viz., an excessive regard for public office and a corresponding disdain for private citizens and for private occupations. In national emergencies, it has acted the part of arbitrator between antagonistic parties. As the champion of greater rights, privileges, and opportunities for women, both in the family and in the society, and in its multiform and effective encouragement of industry and commerce, it has rendered its most distinguished services.

Below are given the titles of the books written by Mr. Fukuzawa after the establishment of his journal. They were inserted, with one or two exceptions, as leading articles in his journal before they appeared in book form.

On the Moral Training of Young Men :
November, 1882 (Meiji 15).

On Military Extension : November, 1882.

On the Independence of Education from
the State : February, 1883.

On General Conscription : 1884.

On Foreign Intercourse, for General Readers : June, 1884.

On Japanese Women : 1885.

On Men's Ways to Live in the World :
December, 1885.

On the Intercourse between Men and
Women : June, 1886.

On Japanese Men : February, 1888.

On the Revering of the Emperor.

The Future of the Imperial Diet.

The Cause of the Conflict Between the
Government and the Imperial Diet :
1891.

A Word about Public Peace.

On the Land Tax.

Some Suggestions to Business Men : April,
1893.

“On Military Extension” was intended by Mr. Fukuzawa to call public attention to the imperfect state of the Japanese army and navy. This he did by comparing them with the armies and navies of the chief Western powers. Extension of both army and navy was advocated in order to maintain the prestige of Japan. Since this would require increased taxation, Mr. Fukuzawa advised the government to give appointments to distinguished champions of popular rights in order to win popular sympathy. In December, 1883, after a law establishing general conscription was promulgated, appeared an essay of moderate length, “On General Conscription,” explaining the reasons and advantages of the law. In the same year appeared “On Foreign Intercourse, for General Readers.” In this work the evils of extra-territorial jurisdiction in Japan were emphasized, and he earnestly advised his countrymen to endeavor to have the foreign settlements abolished and the power to fix the rates of customs duties restored to the Japanese government.

In "Men's Ways to Live in the World," Mr. Fukuzawa attacked the folly of place-hunting. Quite extraordinary honor was still associated with official positions. Hence every ambitious youth sought to serve the government, while commerce, industry, private enterprises of all kinds were almost entirely neglected by men of ability. Accordingly, this pernicious custom, which was so characteristic of feudal Japan, was vigorously attacked by our earnest reformer. He insisted that the life of a government official is not worthy of the ambition of an energetic youth, that private enterprises afford him more ample scope for useful activity and offer greater rewards for successful achievement. In this connection, he tried to correct the false idea of his countrymen about money. In feudal times, honest poverty had been considered by the military classes as one of the primary virtues. Their disregard of money more than anything else distinguished them from other social classes. After the Meiji Restoration, this idea still prevailed among the educated classes, who regarded money with something like the contempt of the old *samurai*. Persons who belonged to the upper classes did not consider it bad to spend more than one earns, nor were they ashamed of debt.

Mr. Fukuzawa endeavored to correct this false idea. He sometimes even asserted that money is everything and that those who cannot make wealth by honest means cannot be called wise men. In "Men's Ways to Live in the World" he says: "As civilization advances, money becomes more and more powerful. It is mightier than any thing else. Where money is there is glory and honor. My countrymen, you must exert yourselves with all your strength to make money, in order that the fountain of national power may be deepened." In an essay written about the same time, the following passage is found: "So long as we live in this world, money is the most important thing. It is money that enables us to provide ourselves with clothes, food and dwellings. It is by money that we can support our families. Without money we can not enjoy home pleasures. Intercourse with friends can be kept only by money. We need money for charity, and indeed for every other purpose. Money is, in truth, the mother of independence." Mr. Fukuzawa not only wrote but also frequently spoke of the power and importance of money. The present author who had then just entered the Keiô Gijuku was much surprised to hear him say in the course of a speech delivered in the

Keiô Gijuku auditorium: "Regarded from the economic point of view, a society is composed mainly of two classes; that is, a productive and an unproductive class. Government officials, lawyers, clergymen, scholars, statesmen, teachers and the like form the unproductive class. This class is not so important to a poor country like Japan as the other class which is composed of merchants, manufacturers and farmers. Suppose that the men belonging to the unproductive class died all at once, would Japan then suffer greatly? No, not at all. She could do quite as well without them." How revolting this argument was to my thoughts! I was not alone in thinking unfavorably of his opinion about wealth. At one time, this view of wealth made him quite unpopular. Many scholars considered him a worshipper of mammon and heaped reproaches upon him. But they were quite wrong in their judgment. The fact is that none of them was so far from being a mammon worshipper as Mr. Fukuzawa was. He emphasized the value of money merely with a view to correct pernicious misconceptions of it, and to impress upon his countrymen the dignity of private occupations and independence. If he apparently exaggerated the importance of money, it was doubtless due to a belief that extreme views

would be most effectively combated by a forcible presentation of the opposite extreme—for there can be no doubt that the misconceptions which he sought to correct had given rise to real and serious evils. A clearer conception of his object and meaning has since transformed aversion into affection, and only a few of the hopelessly narrow and persistently blind now reiterate the once common charge of debasing materialism. Meanwhile the truths which he sought to impress have been very generally accepted by the Japanese nation.

“On Japanese Women,” “On Conduct,” “Intercourse between Men and Women,” and “On Japanese Men” were all written to emancipate women from the restraints of the old-fashioned code of morality. By Confucians and Buddhists women are considered physically and mentally much inferior to men; and moralists of the Chinese school taught the woman absolute submission, not only to her husband, but also to her parents-in-law and even, when old, to her children. The woman had no property of her own; she had no responsibility; she had no power in her home; and consequently her social standing was very low. The house which she inhabited belonged to her husband; the children she

bore were his : she was, so to speak, a parasite of her husband's house. Furthermore, social intercourse between men and women hardly existed ; and second marriage of young widows was discouraged by public opinion. On the other hand, Confucian moralists taught nothing about the duties of a man to his wife. Consequently men were generally licentious and were indifferent towards their wives. If a man's wife bore him no child, he might with propriety keep concubines ; for, according to the Confucian view, the chief function of marriage was to produce an heir for the man. Furthermore, men—husbands included—might with little impropriety and less secrecy visit *geisha*. The resulting evils were, in the works of Mr. Fukuzawa just cited, impressively presented. Other social reformers there have been and are, but they lacked the courage to attack these abuses. It is greatly to the honor of Mr. Fukuzawa that he was the first writer intelligently and enthusiastically to advocate reform along these lines. He asserted that women are the equals of men in natural faculties ; that women should be treated as helpmates of men not as their playthings ; that the gradual degeneration of the Japanese race in stature and physique is owing principally to the fact that

women have become weak in mind and body in consequence of the circumstances just mentioned ; and he proposed to give them more power and responsibility, the right of property, more pleasure, and to make social intercourse between the sexes more frequent.

CHAPTER XV.

LATER YEARS.

IN recognition of the services of Mr. Fukuzawa as an educator and as a writer, the Japanese government in 1888 (Meiji 21) offered to confer upon him the degree of Doctor of Literature ; but he declined the honor. Again in 1890, when the Imperial Diet was established, he was offered a life appointment as a member of the Upper House. This appointment he likewise declined.

Dr. Kitazato, who is now a famous bacteriologist, returned to Japan in 1892, after completing a course of study in bacteriology under Dr. Koch in Germany. He was eager to establish an institution for the investigation of infectious diseases ; but, as he

was then an unknown bacteriologist, he could find no one to provide the necessary funds. When Mr. Fukuzawa heard of this, he sympathized with him and offered to help him in his undertaking. Accordingly Mr. Fukuzawa built at his own expenses a large building for the purpose and even promised to supply the money required for conducting the scientific investigations. This institution gradually developed and is now supported by the government under the presidency of Dr. Kitazato. Dr. Kitazato says, "If Mr. Fukuzawa had not helped me in my enterprise, I doubt if bacteriology would have been so developed in Japan as it now is. Therefore he may be called, not merely my helper, but also the promoter of bacteriology in Japan."

In 1893 a bronze statue of Mr. Fukuzawa, life size in a sitting posture, was completed. The artist was Mr. Ujihiro Ôkuma who, it is said, spent three years on the work. The cost of the statue was about 3,000 *yen*, and was paid by Mr. Obata, Mr. Fukuzawa's first pupil and later co-worker, and other disciples. The unveiling ceremony was performed, in the presence of many Keiô Gijuku alumni, at the Keiô Gijuku hall, October 29th, 1893. Mr. Fukuzawa read an address at the meeting, the gist of which is as follows :—

"To speak frankly, I am naturally devoid of vanity and do not think so much of acquiring fame as other people do. It is but little matter with me whether I shall leave an honored memory after my death. I do not care for adornment of any kind and so it makes no difference to me whether a statue is made in my memory or not. When it was proposed to make this statue, many times did I tell Mr. Obata and other gentlemen that it would be waste of money and that they had better contribute so much money to the funds of this school of ours. Yet you persisted in your proposal and this beautiful statue has been finished. I think you have some special motive in this. I dare suppose that this statue has been made not merely to preserve my likeness but principally for a monument of the Keiô Gijuku which is the embodiment of my spirit and principles. If I am right in my guess, this statue may be called a representation of the Keiô Gijuku. And so long as this statue exists, the Keiô Gijuku must be kept in existence also. Thinking that the Keiô Gijuku will last for ever together with this statue, I shall leave no anxiety about the future of it. It is my earnest hope that the Keiô Gijuku may become the centre of learning and morals and that it may enable Japan to surmount innumerable obstacles in her course of civilization."

In July, 1894, the Japan-China War broke out, and the whole nation was in profound anxiety about its issue. Then Mr. Fukuzawa's patriotic sentiments reached the highest tide and he did his utmost for his country. In the leading columns of the *Jiji Shimpô*, he earnestly advised his countrymen to fight with all their energies and to support their government in all its plans. These articles of the *Jiji Shimpô* contributed much to the unanimous passing through the Lower House of the revenue bill providing enormous war funds. With Mr. Yeiichi Shibuzawa and a few other distinguished men, he organized a society

called *Hôkokukwai* or the "Society for Repaying the State's Blessings" whose object it was to raise subscriptions from individuals in order to contribute money to the war funds. They proclaimed their intention throughout the Empire and set about to collect contributions. The government was highly pleased with their intention ; but public loan bonds had been already issued by it for raising war funds and some statesmen feared that this proposal might diminish subscriptions for the bonds. They thought that the promoters of the society had better exercise their influence in persuading the people to purchase the bonds. Count Inouye, though not then in office, was an earnest advocate of this view. Mr. Fukuzawa and other promoters of the society thought this opinion reasonable. They therefore dissolved their society and exerted themselves to assist the government in placing the public loan. Mr. Fukuzawa, however, contributed 10,000 *yen* to the war funds.

In August or September, 1895, the Emperor offered Mr. Fukuzawa a peerage in recognition of his past distinguished services to the state, but Mr. Fukuzawa's democratic principles led him steadily to decline the offer.

On the twelfth of December, 1895, four hundred and fifty followers and friends of Mr. Fukuzawa, in accordance with a Japanese custom, gave a grand banquet in honor of his sixty-first birth-day. His sixty-first birth-day actually came on the same date of the previous year, but its celebration had, on account of the Japan-China War, been deferred. At this happy gathering, Mr. Obata as representative of the hosts read a congratulatory address, in which the following passage is found: "Let us drink to the health of Mr. Fukuzawa. Let us do so, not only as his friends and followers, but also as Japanese citizens for the sake of civilization in Japan."

In February, 1896, "Fukuzawa's Hundred Essays" was published. It has been so eagerly read by the public that it has gone through twenty-four editions. Mr. Fukuzawa, it is said, began three or four years earlier to write these essays. In this work, his style and his thoughts are found at their best, and it is undoubtedly his master work. Prof. Denning's criticism of it, which appeared in the *Japan Weekly Mail* of February 10, 1900, is given in Appendix A.

"Complete Works of Fukuzawa" in five large volumes was published in September, 1897. In

February of the following year appeared "Mr. Fukuzawa's Talk on the Intercourse between Men and Women;" and in the following month was published "Lessons for Young People." In the same year, appeared "The Autobiography of Fukuzawa" which was written by a short-hand writer at the dictation of Mr. Fukuzawa. A considerable portion of the present biography is based on material contained in the Autobiography. It has reached its twenty-fourth edition. Mr. Fukuzawa concluded his Autobiography with these words: "There are three objects which I desire to accomplish in my remaining years. The first of them is to elevate the character of all the Japanese, to make them worthy of the name of a civilized nation; the second is to encourage the spread of Buddhism or Christianity and thus to tranquillize the hearts of my countrymen; and the third is to help scholars in their study of profound theories, physical or philosophical, by supplying them with plenty of money. One, though old, ought not to spend one's days in idle repose as long as one is in good health. So I will do my best for the state as long as I am healthy."

Mr. Fukuzawa's last work is "Criticisms of Kaibara's Great Learning for Women and New

Great Learning for Women " which was brought out in February, 1899. He began to write it in the middle of August, 1898, and completed it about the twentieth of the following month. Kaibara was a famous moralist of the Chinese school who lived almost two hundred years ago. His "Great Learning for Women" is a summary of the accepted opinions of his day on the status of women. Some works previously* written by Mr. Fukuzawa had been intended to give an impetus to a movement in favor of the emancipation of women. They were, however, much in advance of public opinion and their immediate results were disappointing. The "rights of women" were not greatly extended. On this subject, public opinion remained exceptionally conservative. It was loath to accept in theory or in practice the suggested reforms, and was still essentially embodied in the precepts of Kaibara. Consequently Mr. Fukuzawa now made a direct and vigorous attack on Kaibara's work. Every doctrine it contained was subjected to a merciless and destructive criticism. Mr. Fukuzawa then concluded his essay with precepts of his own for the position and

* These are "On Japanese Women," "On Conduct," "Intercourse between Men and Women," and "On Japanese Men." See page 116.

conduct of women, which he designated "New Great Learning for Women." This work has been widely and eagerly read, especially by ladies. Effectually as it destroyed the rational foundation of Kaibara's doctrines, its practical influence nevertheless remains regrettably slight. It assailed institutions and ideas which are obviously and deeply rooted in prejudice and custom rather than in reason. Their reform—ardently to be desired—must likewise be effected by a gradual transformation of ideas and customs.

On the afternoon of September 26, 1898, that is about a week after the completion of his last work, Mr. Fukuzawa, who had not known illness for many years, was unexpectedly prostrated by cerebral paralysis. His condition gradually became worse until the night of October 5, when his physicians declared, to the infinite sorrow of his family, friends and followers, that no rational hope for his recovery could be longer entertained. When the news of his illness appeared in the newspapers, the whole nation sank into profound anxiety. Numerous persons called daily to inquire about his condition, and the Keiô Gijuku alumni of different localities sent representatives to condole with his family. Their Majesties

the Emperor and Empress and His Highness the Crown Prince, as a token of deep sympathy with his family, graciously presented them with some bottles of wine and two boxes of cake. The Imperial Household Department ordered a daily report of the progress of the illness to be sent to Their Majesties. The Emperor again offered to confer a decoration upon Mr. Fukuzawa ; but his family, out of deference to his well-known principles, declined the offer. To the universal surprise and joy, the exceptional vitality of Mr. Fukuzawa reasserted itself and his wonderful reserve of physical energy tided him over the crisis. About the middle of October, he was able to leave his bed, and early in December he was almost completely restored to health. On his next birth-day, Dec. 12, about four hundred of his friends and followers held a banquet at the *Kôyô Kwan* or the "Maple Hall," in Shiba Park, to celebrate his recovery ; and on the same day banquets for the same purpose were given by the Keiô Gijuku graduates in many towns throughout the Empire. But the severe stroke had seriously impaired Mr. Fukuzawa's mental vigor. His power of memory was most affected. At times, he was unable even to recall the names of his wife and children. Happily this mis-

fortune was only temporary, so that, after a few months, he had again recovered much of his former intellectual power.

CHAPTER XVI.

MR. FUKUZAWA'S CODE OF MORALS.

MR. Fukuzawa's health was not completely restored before he began to devote himself to the morals of his countrymen. Since her ports were opened to foreign intercourse, Japan had made rapid strides in science and art ; but the progress of morals was discouragingly slow. The older generation of Japanese was still dominated by the moral conceptions of the Chinese school. The younger generation generally had little faith in these out-of-date doctrines and had assumed a skeptical attitude towards all moral teachings. Deeply deploring this state of things, our old reformer determined to supply his countrymen with a code of morals that was suited to the progress of the times. He accordingly undertook to compile a code of practical ethics. In the execution of this work, he invited the co-operation of Mr. Obata, President Kamada and Prof. Kadono of the Keiô Gijuku, and of Messrs. Ishikawa, Hibara and his eldest son Mr. Ichitaro Fukuzawa. By the aid

of frequent reference to his writings and speeches, and after much discussion, they successfully presented, in a small pamphlet, the main principles of his ethics. These were, after careful examination and some amendment by Mr. Fukuzawa, embodied in twenty-nine moral precepts. On February 11, 1900, they were finally adopted by Mr. Fukuzawa and his collaborators, in the following form :—

All those who are living in Japan, irrespective of sex or age, must obey the Imperial Court of uninterrupted lineage, for there is none who has not participated in its unbounded benevolence. This is a point about which there is perfect unanimity of opinion throughout the realm. Coming to another question of how the men and women of to-day should behave themselves, I must say that diverse as have been from ancient times codes of morals, it is evident that a code must conform itself to the progress of the times, and that in a society like the present, characterized as it is by ever-advancing civilization, there must be a code specially suited to it. Hence it follows that the tenets of personal morals and living must undergo more or less of a change.

1. Everybody must make it his duty to act as a man and must endeavor to elevate his dignity and to enhance his virtue. Men and women of our fraternity must regard the principle of independence and self-respect as the cardinal tenet of personal morals and living, and by inscribing it deeply on their hearts must strive to discharge the duties proper to man.

2. He is called a man of independence and self-respect who preserves the independence of both mind and body, and who pays due respect to his person in a way calculated to maintain the dignity proper to man.

3. Working with an independent will and subsisting without the help of others, is the essence of the independence of life : hence it follows that a person of independence and self-respect must be an independent worker besides being his own bread-winner.

4. Taking care of the body and keeping it healthy is a duty incumbent on us all by reason of the rules that govern human existence; both body and mind must be kept in activity and in health and anything calculated to impair their health even in the least degree must be rigidly avoided.

5. To complete the natural span of life is to discharge a duty incumbent on man. Therefore, any person who, be the cause what it may or be the circumstances what they may, deprives himself by violence of his own life, must be said to be guilty of an act inexcusable and cowardly, as well as mean, and entirely opposed to the principle of independence and self-respect.

6. Unless pursued with a daring, active and indomitable spirit, independence and self-respect cannot be secured; a man must have the courage of progress and consistency.

7. A person of independence and self-respect must not depend upon others in disposing of a question relating to his own personal affairs, but must possess the ability with which to deliberate and decide on it.

8. The custom of regarding women as the inferiors of men is a vicious relic of barbarism. Men and women of any enlightened country must treat and love each other on a basis of equality, so that each may develop his or her own independence and self-respect.

9. Marriage being a most important affair in the life of man, the utmost care must be exercised in selecting a partner. It is the first essential of humanity for man and wife to cohabit till death separates them and to entertain towards each other feelings of love and respect, in such a way that neither of them shall lose his or her independence and self-respect.

10. Children born of man and wife know no other parents but their own, and in the same way the parents recognize no children besides their own. The affection existing between parents and their children is the purest kind of affection and the first preliminary of domestic felicity consists in not interfering with the free play of this sentiment.

11. Children are also persons of independence and self-respect, but while they are yet in their infancy their parents must take charge of their education. The children on their part must, in obedience to

the instructions of their parents, diligently attend to their work, to the end that they may get well grounded in the knowledge of getting on in society, after they have grown up into men and women of independence and self-respect.

12. In order to act up to the ideal of persons of independence and self-respect, men and women must continue, even after they have grown up, to attend to their studies, and should not neglect to develop their knowledge and to cultivate their virtue.

13. At first a single house appears, then several others gradually cluster round it, and a human community is formed. The foundation of a sound society must therefore be said to consist in the independence and self-respect of a single person and a single family.

14. The only way to preserve a social community consists in respecting and not violating, even in the least, the rights and the happiness of others, while maintaining at the same time one's own rights and one's own share of happiness.

15. It is a vulgar custom and unmanly practice unworthy of civilized people to entertain enmity towards others and to wreak vengeance upon them. In repairing one's honor and in maintaining it, fair means must always be employed.

16. Every person must be faithful to his business, and anybody who neglects the duties of his state in life, irrespective of the relative gravity and importance of such duties, cannot be regarded as a person of independence and self-respect.

17. Every one must behave towards others with candor, for it is by reposing confidence in others that one renders it possible for them to confide in him, while it is only by means of this mutual confidence that the reality of independence and native dignity can be attained.

18. Courtesy and etiquette being important social means for expressing the sense of respect, they should not be ignored even in the least degree; the only caution to be given in this connection is that both an excess and a deficiency of courtesy and etiquette should be avoided.

19. It is a philanthropic act which may be regarded as a beautiful virtue of man, to hold the sentiment of sympathy and

affection towards others, and so to endeavor not only to alleviate their pains but also to further their welfare.

20. The sentiment of kindness must not be confined to men alone, and any practice that involves cruelty to animals or any wanton slaughter of them must be guarded against.

21. Culture elevates man's character while it delights his mind, and as, taken in a wide sense, it promotes the peace of society and enhances human happiness, therefore it must be regarded as an essential requisite of man.

22. Whenever a nation exists there is inevitably a Government, which attends to the business of enacting laws and organizing armaments with the object of giving protection to the men and women of the country and of guarding their persons, property, honor and freedom. In return for this, the people are under obligation to undergo military service and to meet the national expenditures.

23. It is a natural consequence that persons who undergo military service and pay the national expenditure, should enjoy the right of sitting in the national legislature, with the view of supervising the appropriations for the national expenditures. This may also be considered as their duty.

24. The Japanese people of both sexes must ever keep in view their duty of fighting with an enemy even at the risk of their life and property, for the sake of maintaining the independence and dignity of the country.

25. It is a duty of the people to obey the laws of the country. They should go further and should attend to the duty of helping to enforce those enactments, with the object of maintaining order and peace in the community.

26. Many as are the nations existing on the earth with different religions, languages, manners and customs, the people constituting those nations are brethren, and hence no discrimination should be made in dealing with them. It is against the principles of independence and self-respect to bear one's self with arrogance and to look down on people of a different nationality.

27. The people of our generation must fulfill the duty of handing down to our posterity and in an ameliorated form the national civilization and welfare which we have inherited from our forefathers.

28. There must be more or less difference in the ability and physical strength of men born in this world. It depends upon the power of education to minimize the number of the incompetent and the weak, for education, by teaching men the principles of independence and self-respect, enables them to find out and to develop the means to put those principles into practice and to act up to them.

29. Men and women of our fraternity must not be contented with inscribing on their own hearts these moral tenets, but endeavor to diffuse them widely among the public at large, to the end that they may attain the greatest possible happiness,—they with all their brethren all over the wide world.

At the end of February, the Code of Morals was, by a formal ceremony in the auditorium of the Keio Gijuku, presented to the teachers and the students of the institution. Soon afterwards, it was published in the *Jiji Shimpō*. A large number of copies was printed separately and widely distributed. Most of the newspapers and magazines throughout the country inserted it, and commented on it generally favorably. Some conservative persons attacked with vehemence special points in it. Most prominent among those who assailed it was Dr. Inouye, a professor in the Imperial University at Tokyo. The most vigorous and obstinate objections raised by such adverse critics were (1) against making independence and self-respect the basis of morality, and (2) against the idea that “a code of morals must conform itself to the progress of the times.” But

the Code of Morals was eagerly welcomed by scholars of progressive views.*

Encouraged by the reception accorded by the public to the Code of Morals, Messrs. Ichitarô Fukuzawa, Kamada, Kadono, Kitagawa, and some others have since devoted much time to personal explanation and advocacy of the doctrines therein contained. For this purpose, they have travelled extensively in various provinces, held conferences and delivered public addresses in all the important towns along their route. Most Japanese have perceived the errors and imperfection of the old morals, and Mr. Fukuzawa's ethics has begun already to gain their warm approval.

The precepts contained in the Code of Morals are not mere abstractions. They are generalizations which embody the substance and spirit of Mr. Fukuzawa's writings and addresses, and are especially rules of practical conduct which he observed throughout life. They are for his writings and his life what Herbert Spencer's "Principles of Ethics" is for his "Synthetic Philosophy." Their precise formulation into a Code of Morals was an appropriate crowning act for a beautiful life.

* See Appendix B.

In recognition of Mr. Fukuzawa's immense services to the country, His Majesty the Emperor presented him, May, 1900, with 50,000 *yen*, which he immediately transferred to the endowment funds of the Keio Gijuku.

CHAPTER XVII.

DEATH.

ON the evening of January 25, 1901, Mr. Fukuzawa was visited by a second stroke of cerebral paralysis. Again the whole nation shared with his family and immediate friends the deepest anxiety. Five days after the attack, Their Majesties the Emperor and Empress sent a messenger bearing presents of cake and sympathetic inquiries concerning the condition of the sufferer. Similar presents and inquiries followed two days later from Their Highnesses the Crown Prince and Princess. From the beginning, the gravity of his illness was recognized, but as the general symptoms did not differ materially from those witnessed on the occasion of the first attack, hope was not abandoned. On the afternoon of the third of February, however, the patient's strength declined rapidly. At the same time,

action of the heart began to fail and at 10:50 p.m. our venerable teacher breathed his last. He was then in his sixty-eighth year.

From one end of the Empire to the other, the sad news of Mr. Fukuzawa's death awakened feelings of the deepest regret. Through the leading columns of all journals in the Empire, the great national sorrow received appropriate and impressive expression. In addition to messages of condolence, the Imperial Court sent 1,000 *yen* towards the funeral expenses. The House of Representatives unanimously passed a vote of condolence—the first honor of the kind ever conferred upon a Japanese citizen. The administrative committee of the Constitutional Association (a political party represented by a majority in the Lower House) and some 400 other organizations—educational, political and business—likewise voted resolutions of condolence. Various sums were contributed to the endowment funds of the Keio Gijuku in honor of the deceased educator. During the interval between the death and the interment of Mr. Fukuzawa, the residents of Mita draped their shops and houses in black as a token of their sympathy and sorrow. Many of them also closed their shops on the day of the funeral.

It was announced that the bier should leave the house at one o'clock on the eighth. Long before the appointed hour it seemed as if all Tokyo were gathering about the Mita Hill where the residence of the deceased was situated. Assembled at the house and at the school were multitudes, not only of eminent men of the city, but also of delegates from every part of the Empire who had hastened to Tokyo to pay the last tribute of respect to their leader. Among those assembled were some Ministers of State and no small number of foreigners, including some Hindoos and Koreans. The distance traversed by the enormous procession on its way to Zempukuji (temple) is about one mile. On either side, the entire route was lined by dense masses of spectators. The students of the Keio Gijuku, some seventeen hundred in number, led by their military corps, did silent escort duty. Following them came the simple but elegant bier and then the great column of mourning friends, which, massed eight deep, extended almost from the house to the temple. There was not a carriage or *jinrikisha* in the funeral procession. In marked keeping with the simplicity of the life thus honored in death, as well as in accordance with the wishes of the deceased, all the gaudy features of a Buddhistic

funeral were omitted—a fact which added to the solemnity and impressiveness of the obsequies. The spectators, with bared heads, observed the passing column in respectful silence. At sight of the bier, many women clasped their hands and burst into sobbing. On arrival at the temple a simple but impressive funeral ceremony was performed. The procession again formed and attended the remains to their last resting place, Hongwanji (temple), in Ôsaki Village. There the last sad rites ended at half past five o'clock, and all that was mortal of the great teacher was appropriately left in the solitude of the winter twilight.

Several incidents connected with the death and burial of Mr. Fukuzawa aptly illustrate the veneration which his character and work had inspired.

The students of Keio Gijuku University were not willing to have the remains of their great teacher borne to the tomb by hired laborers. They therefore earnestly begged that, instead of the customary hired laborers, thirty of the strongest among their own number should be selected to perform this service. The affectionate thoughtfulness implied in this proposal deeply moved the funeral committee. But, lest some accident might happen if this course were

adopted, the proposal was with much reluctance rejected.

While the preparations for the funeral were being made, a lady called at the residence of the deceased. She revealed neither her name nor any other evidence of her identity, but simply delivered to the usher some daffodils and a branch of plum-blossoms to be dedicated to the spirit of the deceased, accompanied by a letter which read :—

Tokyo, Feb. 8, 1901

“ To Mrs. Fukuzawa

Dear Madame,

Having read the late Mr. Fukuzawa's excellent articles in the *Jiji Shimpō* written on behalf of the Japanese women, I thought him a kind friend of women and regarded him with gratitude and respect, although I had never the honor of personal acquaintance with him.

I am very sorry for his death : I feel, indeed, as if a relation of mine had died. Inferring from my sorrow, how great the sorrow of you and of your family must be, I sympathize with you !

I wish to dedicate the accompanying flowers to his spirit as a slight token of my gratitude to him. Be so kind as to do so for me. I will attend his funeral to-day.

It is my earnest prayer that his noble spirit may remain for ever in this world to be a constant companion of the Japanese women.

Yours most cordially,

A Woman of Mita.”

Two or three days after the death of Mr. Fukuzawa, the following letter was sent through the post to his widow :—

" To Mrs. Fukuzawa

Utsunomiya, February, 1901.

and

All her family.

Dear Mrs. Fukuzawa,

For the past several years my family and I myself have been subscribers of the *Jiji Shimpō*; and the excellent views of the late Mr. Fukuzawa have so much influenced us that the several youths in my store behave well and act on the principle of independence and self-respect which was taught by the deceased teacher. I am much obliged to him for this.

Furthermore, sympathizing with the Japanese women whose status in society is low, Mr. Fukuzawa exerted himself for their cause; on account of which I regarded him with more gratitude and respect than gods and Buddha.

I prayed that he should live even to a hundred years; and what is my sorrow and surprise at the intelligence of his death! I sympathize with you in your bereavement. I should like very much to attend his funeral, but I am very sorry business prevents me from doing so. As a token of my gratitude and sorrow, I write you this poor letter.

I hope that you will do your best in spreading the noble teachings of the deceased teacher.

Yours most faithfully,

A Merchant Woman of

Utsunomiya."

Mr. Fukuzawa left at his death a wife and nine children, of whom four are sons and five are daughters. The eldest son Mr. Ichitarō has succeeded to his father's estate, and is editor of the *Jiji Shimpō*. The second son Mr. Sutejirō is manager of the *Jiji Shimpō*. The third and fourth sons are students—the former in England and the latter in the Keio Gijuku. The daughters are all married.

CHAPTER XVIII.

PERSONAL APPEARANCE, HABITS,
AND CONDUCT.

MR. FUKUZAWA had an exceptionally pleasant and commanding personal appearance. Five feet nine inches tall, he was in stature much above the average for Japanese. He had a large face, with a prominent nose and a broad forehead. His firmly set mouth and massive chin expressed determination and decision of character. His large, lustrous, steady eyes indicated candor, intelligence, keen and active powers of observation. He was of a strong constitution and rather corpulent, weighing about one hundred and fifty pounds from his youth to his later years. He had a thick beard but always kept it closely shaven. He once said to a friend, "See how large and sinewy my hands and feet are! If I had become a laborer, I should have led a happier life. It may be a mistake in my life to have become a scholar and to trouble myself so much."

Naturally he was very healthy and every care was taken to preserve his vigor. He ate food very slowly and never took anything between his regular meals. Much of his time was devoted to physical

exercise. When he was a young man, he learned *iai* or the art of drawing a long sword, in which he attained considerable proficiency ; and in his later years he often practised it for exercise. He rode horse-back well, and during some years this was his favorite exercise. Other forms of exercise frequently resorted to by him were cutting fire-wood and pounding rice in a mortar. He was an early riser and generally did not burn the midnight oil. Early in the morning while his neighbors were still asleep, he arose and walked in the fresh morning air. In these walks, he went a few miles out into the suburbs, wearing sandals, a big stick in hand, and accompanied by two or three young students of the Keiô Gijuku. Before supper, he practised one of the other forms of exercise above-mentioned, most frequently the pounding of rice. He never allowed bad weather to interfere with his exercise.

As already stated, Mr. Fukuzawa was very fond of *sake*. After he came to Yedo, his income enabled him to indulge his taste for drink. He usually drank in the morning, at noon, and in the evening. He also welcomed any additional chance opportunity to drink. But when he became thirty-two or thirty-three years old, he thought that drinking so much

would shorten his life. Accordingly he resolved gradually to diminish his daily consumption of *sake* until he might be able entirely to abstain from it. At first he gave up his morning *sake* and next his noon allowance ; but he experienced great difficulty in abstaining from his evening *sake*. He tried each successive evening to drink less and less. His appetite demanded more drink : his will commanded a smaller satisfaction. Thus there was a daily struggle between desire and will, and three years elapsed before he could entirely dispense with the evening cup. Finally his tenacious will asserted absolute sovereignty over desire, and in his later years he never tasted a glass of *sake* or any other liquor.

Unlike most Japanese gentlemen, he had no taste for curios or objects of fine art, autographs or paintings, architecture or gardening. Simple in his dress and in furnishing his house, he hated anything like luxury. It is said that if he found any article of luxury in his house he would sell it and replace it with a cheaper and coarser one. He held in contempt the general usage of prizing the autographs of famous scholars. Once he had a hanging scroll made by one of his pupils who wrote a good hand ;

and he hung it on the wall of his parlor. He would say to every visitor, "This scroll has no signature. Whose performance do you think it is?" Supposing that a man like Mr. Fukuzawa would hang up nothing but the work of a celebrated calligrapher, the visitor would admire it very much and add, "I suppose the writer must be some famous Chinese or Korean calligrapher." Mr. Fukuzawa would then feel like laughing but would not confess the truth. One day a number of his friends happened to meet at his house. Then he told the truth. They were surprised and began to criticise the calligraphy, saying, "This stroke is awkward. That is clumsy." He said with laughter, "What critics you are! You see scrolls with the ear, not with the eye. If I had said this was written by a famous ancient calligrapher, you would surely have admired it." The guests were struck dumb.

It was a characteristic of Mr. Fukuzawa that he never troubled others about his personal affairs. He swept and dusted his room. He went and purchased his ink and paper. He polished his shoes and even shaved himself. Sometimes he performed the duties of his wife or servants. When he pounded rice for exercise he was sure to sift the bran and to clean the

mortar. He once had a valuable ink-stone* which had been presented by a friend. He prized it very much and did not allow his family to use it. He washed it every time it needed washing and never allowed others even to touch it. It was a treasure with him for many years. One day while engaged in writing he fell into a profound meditation. While he was thus meditating, his eye caught the ink-stone which needed cleansing. He called his maid-servant and ordered her to take it away and wash it. While washing the ink-stone the maid accidentally broke it. She ran to him with it and in tears begged his pardon. Then his spell of meditation was broken and he much regretted the loss of his treasure. But not a word of anger escaped his lips. He simply said to her, "Never mind. This is the consequence of my having asked you to wash it. I am to blame and not you."

Mr. Fukuzawa was a beneficent man. When Mr. (now Viscount) Bayô Enomoto† was taken

* An ink-stone is a piece of hard stone with a hollow, used for holding Japanese ink.

† Mr. Bayô Enomoto, who had learned in Holland the science of naval war, was, at the time of the Meiji Revolution, commandant of the naval fleet of the Bakufu. When the ex-Shogun Keiki had surrendered the castle of Yedo to the Imperial army in April, 1868

prisoner by the Imperial army and was about to be executed, Mr. Fukuzawa tried every possible means to save his life and at last had him set at liberty. There are many other instances, in which he made extraordinary exertions to help others. One summer a student of the Keio Gijuku died. His parents were poor and his home was very far from Tokyo, so that none of his relatives were able to attend his funeral. Two or three class-mates undertook preparations for his funeral. When Mr. Fukuzawa heard of this, he felt very sorry and offered to defray the entire expenses. He also attended the funeral. His benevolence seems to have increased with his years. In his later years, whenever he went out for a walk he took with him a little change for beggars.

(See the chapter on the Meiji Restoration), Commandant Enomoto was unwilling to yield. Accordingly, he, with some other naval officers, sailed northward with eleven men-of-war. Proceeding to Yezo, they captured the castle of Matsumaye; and before long a large portion of the island came under their rule. Over this territory, they set up an independent government. The Emperor despatched a fleet against them; and warlike operations between the rebels and the Imperial troops lasted till May, 1869, when the rebels surrendered to the Imperial troops. Mr. Enomoto was sent to Yedo and afterwards he was about to be executed, when Mr. Fukuzawa came to his rescue. Many years later Mr. Enomoto held an important office in the new government and was created a peer.

Very sociable and cheerful of disposition, Mr. Fukuzawa was also rather talkative. He could talk pleasantly with anybody—man or woman, young or old. His breadth of knowledge and exceptional common sense enabled him to speak on almost every subject and to adapt his conversation to the capacity of the fellow-talker. He maintained the same attitude towards everybody, whether gentleman or laborer, lady or maid-servant. He was not only entertaining with his own speech and skilful in leading the conversation, but he was also a good listener. His sound judgment was in part formed by listening to others talk. Mr. Obata happily remarked, “Mr. Fukuzawa used people as books.” Mr. Fukuzawa had frequent visits from persons representing almost every variety of temperament and occupation: lawyers, doctors, educators, statesmen, journalists, even laborers. In the course of conversation with such visitors, he induced them to speak of their specialities and questioned them minutely on every topic that occurred to him. Thus he was able to acquire a vast knowledge of various subjects. By the application of his clear intellect to the analysis and synthesis of what he had heard, he would form quite original views. Consequently he

would later surprise those from whom he had received his information by the superiority of his knowledge.

Mr. Fukuzawa was remarkable for his excellent conduct. He never spoke of obscene things. He never associated with women of ill repute. He did not even know, as he says in his Autobiography, where the Yoshiwara and other quarters for prostitutes were situated. His life in the home was exemplary. He was a kind husband, a benevolent father, a good-tempered grand-father, and a good master. Musicians, story-tellers, and even actors were invited to his house to perform; and he enjoyed their entertainments with his family. There was no secret in his home. Equality and liberty were realized by the members of his family, and all were intimate and sympathetic friends. His home was a miniature republic of which he was the president. Indeed no home-life could have been simpler, purer, more free, open or attractive. How he loved his family is shown by the following fact. While his eldest and second sons studied in the United States of America, he wrote to them regularly once a week. The total number of letters sent by him during their stay of six years was over three hundred. It is said that he wrote so minutely about the current events

in Japan as well as the incidents of his home, that his sons on their return to Japan were as well informed about the changes which had occurred during their absence as if they had not been abroad. He was not only a man of theory but also emphatically a man of practice. Whatever he thought or said about morals he practised. There was in Japan no one better entitled to teach morals.

Since his motto was "independence and self-respect" and since he thought that money is the foundation of independence, Mr. Fukuzawa was very careful about the use of money. He says in his Autobiography: "There is nothing so hateful to me as debt, except assassination. I am a great coward with regard to money: I have not courage enough to borrow it." He never during all his life borrowed even a penny. He would have starved rather than incur debt. He not only abhorred debt, but he also hated to get money at the slightest sacrifice of his self-respect. Soon after the Restoration, a great merchant of Yokohama established a school in that city, and its teachers were selected from among the Keiô Gijuku graduates. The merchant expressed to

Mr. Fukuzawa a desire to have him superintend the school, but Mr. Fukuzawa was unwilling to accept the offer. Mr. Fukuzawa's sons were still young children, but it was his earnest wish to send them abroad for study when they became old enough. However it was extremely doubtful whether he would be able to afford this, and it was to him a source of constant anxiety. The Yokohama merchant, having heard of this, came to him again and after repeating the former request, said, "If you don't wish to take any salary for your services, let me now offer you 15,000 *yen* for the expenses of educating your sons abroad. If you deposit the money at interest in some bank, it will grow into a larger sum by the time they are old enough to go abroad. Please grant my earnest request." 15,000 *yen* was then a big sum to Mr. Fukuzawa. Almost any other man would have assented to the proposal. But he stuck to his first resolve and positively declined the offer, being quite unwilling to sacrifice his will for the sake of money. Afterwards by industry and thrift he made a moderate fortune and was able to send abroad, not only his sons, but also his nephew Mr. H. Nakamigawa, who until his recent demise, was at the head of the Mitsui Bank.

APPENDIX A.

MR. FUKUZAWA AND HIS VIEWS.*

By PROF. DENING.

Foreigners and Japanese are agreed in thinking Mr. Fukuzawa to be one of the most remarkable men of the day. By his own countrymen he is regarded with profound respect almost amounting to worship. Candour, simplicity, courage, disregard of rank and titles, common sense, earnestness, great decision of character,—these are qualities which are as highly esteemed by the Japanese as by ourselves and Mr. Fukuzawa possesses them all in an eminent degree. Everybody gives Mr. Fukuzawa the credit of being quite sincere in the views he holds and all acknowledge that he wields enormous influence throughout the country. The public reads with great avidity everything he writes. His books run through edition after edition at an astonishingly rapid rate and there are few current questions on which he has not something pointed to say. His newspaper is wonderfully well informed, not only on the internal affairs of this country but also on the policies of

* *The Japan Weekly Mail*, Feb. 10, 1900.

Western countries. Old though he is, Mr. Fukuzawa shows no signs of having lost his interest in the march of events. A recent article in his newspaper, to quote only one instance among many, maps out with remarkable accuracy the probable course of events in the Transvaal when the present war is over and the two Republics become English protectorates.

Although all are agreed that Mr. Fukuzawa is a very striking personality, there are not a few Japanese and a great many foreigners who hold that his views are anything but elevating. They think his ideal to be a low one. Some writers pronounce it to be materialistic to the core, in the sense that, according to them, nothing but worldly ends are represented to be worthy of constant pursuit. Others affirm that in stating his views Mr. Fukuzawa uses exaggerated language and that his followers are misled by this and push his doctrines to undesirable extremes. Others say that Mr. Fukuzawa has figured too much as an opportunist and that he has sanctioned and even recommended his followers to outwardly conform to forms of religious belief which he himself does not think worthy of acceptance, for the sake of the secondary benefits such outward conformity confers. All this and much beside has

been said of him. He has been condemned for his scepticism, and it has been said that he has no adequate idea of the important place that man occupies in the Universe. The present writer has for many years studied Mr. Fukuzawa's writings with considerable interest, and in order to show precisely what are the actual views of the Mita sage on religious belief, human life, and kindred subjects has gone to the trouble of examining very thoroughly his 100 short essays, a book which as early as last April had reached its twelfth edition and has now reached the sixteenth. In this volume he has given us his maturest thoughts and convictions. The various essays furnish abundant data whereon to base an opinion of the general character of Mr. Fukuzawa's teaching. In as short a space as possible we will state what he has to say on the principal subjects discussed.

Essay I. is on the "Universe." All thoughtful men, says the essayist, are agreed that there is a certain sublimity and a certain mystery about the Universe, that the way in which numbers of diverse laws work together in realising certain ends is very wonderful. It is admitted that there is something inexplicable connected with the Universe. It would

be no doubt convenient to give this a name, and religious people call it "God," whom they assume is the maker of the Universe. I cannot use that name as I know nothing of God. When young I was taught to speak of all things beyond man's strength to perform as the work of "Heaven," and nature's laws were spoken of as Heaven's way. This language is used for the sake of convenience. It teaches us nothing. All that is certain is that there are many things that are beyond our comprehension. The feeling that nature produces in us is one of wonder and admiration. As to actual causes we have no certain guide.

Essay II. is on nature's work and dwells on the uniformity of nature's laws and of their wonderful comprehensiveness. Nothing great or small is uncontrolled by the law from huge planets to specks of dust. And we human beings are part of the great system of nature.

In Essay III. the view is expressed that nature is favourable to man. The following is the gist of what Mr. Fukuzawa has to say on this subject. In all times there has been much discussion over the question of nature's attitude towards mankind. The Chinese philosophers asked whether Heaven's laws

were for or against us *Temmei ze* (是) *ka*, *hi* (非) *ka* ? The principal features of their treatment of the subject consisted in lamentations over the many misfortunes and drawbacks encountered in this life. There are those who contend that floods, tempest, earthquakes, war, robbery and the like are all proofs that Heaven's laws pay no regard to man's comfort and happiness. But it must not be forgotten that man is endowed with intelligence that will in the end enable him to conquer most of the ills of life. Judging by the rate of progress he is now making, in five or six thousand years there will be few calamities that his skill and forethought will be unable to prevent. Distant generations will be able to surround themselves with happiness of which we have little conception.

In Essay IV., the title of which is "Hope for the Future," the same subject is continued. The history of the past is pronounced to be most encouraging. The appearance every now and again of moralists like Confucius and great scientists like Sir Isaac Newton enables mankind to make rapid progress. Such lights will go on appearing for centuries to come and eventually man will have no complaint to make against his environment.

Essay V. deals with "Cause and Effect." It is contended that the assumption that nature is favourable to us and that there is no real injustice in the conditions to which she has subjected us implies that the whole chain of cause and effect as seen in things material and things mental cannot be justly taken exception to by us. Most of the evils of mankind come from their own sins. Though there are cases of innocent people suffering, yet on the other hand the wonderful intelligence displayed in nature's arrangements, the superiority of her ways to our ways, should keep us from charging her with causing the misfortunes which cross our path. Instead of accusing nature, we should do better to set about righting ourselves.

Essay VI. asks and answers the interesting question, "Should we or should we not entertain a feeling of gratitude" (to nature)? This essay appears in full with a translation on p. 322 *et seq.* of Mr. B. H. Chamberlain's "Introduction to the Study of Japanese Writing." From Mr. Chamberlain's translation we make a few short extracts. After enumerating various sources of happiness furnished to us by nature, the essayist proceeds thus—"Such is the condition of man, swimming in a sea of happiness. Never-

theless, when we proceed to ask whether he ought or ought not to feel grateful for these favours,—whether, to speak colloquially, he should say thank you for them,—a doubt naturally suggests itself. For mark the word ‘favour.’ It includes the notion of benevolence, kindly action; and gratitude for these presupposes the existence of some person by whom the benevolence is exercised. But the great machine of the Universe, marvellously as it is constructed, shows no trace of any special constructor; and even if, for argument’s sake, we coin the word ‘Creator’ and apply it in this context, attaining thereby to apparent logical satisfaction, then we must find some maker for the maker of the Creator. Thus we should go on *ad infinitum*, and, when all was said and done, the only conclusion arrived at would be that the world is a great machine marvellously constructed. It is a great machine originated by chance, and we human beings are born by chance, and really form part of the machine. We may illustrate this by the case of an engine which should move of itself in a marvellous manner, while yet there was absolutely no means of ascertaining the existence of the motor power, steam; and man would correspond, say, to one nail,

or to a minute particle of the iron of that engine ; in all those revolutions he would participate, but as he would naturally ignore* the causes which brought it all about, no search on his part would bring to light any one whom he ought specially to thank for the favour of whirling him round. All that can be done is to contemplate the vastness, the infinity, the immeasurableness, the marvellousness of the great machine, and to discern ever more and more clearly, our own insignificance and weakness." In the same essay nature is defined as "merely a marvellous and spontaneous series of events, from which it is impossible to deduce the existence of any person causing those events to be what they are." And the conclusion arrived at is thus concisely and lucidly stated : "*A single immutable order of nature can justly excite neither gratitude nor resentment : for it is plain that, being so vast as it is, we, in our position as human beings, can no more dare to praise than to blame it.*" (The translation is Mr. Chamberlain's, the italics are

* The translation here seems to us a little misleading. The original is, *mirukura sono shikaru yuen wo hirazareba*, which means simply "as he himself would not know the causes which brought it about." "Naturally ignore" introduces another idea, it seems to us.

ours). The sage continues : " Calm, unbiased reflection shows us that the fact of human beings being born as human beings belongs to the same order as that of fish being fish, or birds being birds, or a man or woman of thirty being thirty ; there is in it no special cause for joy, or yet for astonishment. Nature suits man and all other living creatures. This is simply because nature is nature : it is no mark of any special and particular favour. If nature did not suit man and other creatures, then men and things as we now know them would not exist on the surface of this globe,—nay ! the globe itself could not then wear its present aspect. Thus it is only because nature is suitable to their origination that things exist at all. It is not because things exist that we are justified in inferring any special favour towards them on nature's part. To notice things and then treat them with particular kindness is an exclusively human trait, *and it argues want of appreciation of the greatness of the great machine to judge nature's handiwork by our petty schemes.*" In a note at the end of this essay Mr. Fukuzawa tells us that this discussion is only designed for the learned, and he expresses a fear that the ignorant may misunderstand it. As trans-

lated by Mr. Chamberlain, he says, "In fine, gratitude being a sentiment which springs from piety, the proper course for wise men to pursue in the present uncultivated condition of the world is to foster virtue in the foolish by leaving such piety undisturbed, whether its origin be superstition or emotion." The above words express Mr. Fukuzawa's habitual teaching on the treatment that religion should receive at the hands of the learned: it should be tolerated as a necessary superstition for the sake of its good effects on the ignorant.

The title of Essay VII. is *Ningen no Anshin* ("Man's Composure of Mind"). It lays special stress on the insignificance of mankind in the great scale of creation. It is in this essay that man is compared to an insect that is born in the morning and dies at night, to dust, and to a maggot. His life is represented as quite unimportant. The world can get on without him. The argument is that most forms of anxiety and discontent originate with over-estimation of the importance of life. Life should be regarded with the indifference and lightness of heart with which we regard our sports. Nothing lasts long, not even the most distressing circumstances, and therefore nothing is worth harassing

one's soul about. But at the same time we must make the best of life and fulfil its duties. Indifference should be carried far enough to fortify us against being crushed by reverses, but not to the length of making us neglect any of the means of bettering our position placed within our reach. As the views expressed in this have been very much misunderstood and misrepresented by both Japanese and foreigners and have been pushed to greater lengths than is fair to Mr. Fukuzawa, we quote a few lines of the essay in order to show that he guards against the wrong use of his argument. The passage in which the objections of these critics are forestalled and answered is on p. 38 of the Essays and begins, for we cannot quote the whole, *Sude ni sekai ni umare idetaru ue wa, ujimushi nagara soo no kakugo naki to yezu, sono kakugo to wa jinsei wa honrai tazamure to shiri nagara, kono tazamure to tazamure to sezu shite, adakamo majime ni tsutome, hinku to sarite furaku ni kokorozashi, &c.* "Having come into the world, though we be nothing but maggots, we must make a suitable preparation for living. And this preparation for living will mean that though we regard life as a joke we shall act as though it were a very serious affair and endeavour to avoid both poverty and pain and

aim at obtaining wealth and pleasure, etc." Mr. Fukuzawa goes on to say that all the duties of life must be scrupulously fulfilled. The lightness of heart which he enjoins is intended to be an antidote to the despondency which an over-serious view of life is apt to cause in a certain class of minds.

Essay VIII. treats of the Standard of Right and Wrong. This standard, according to the essayist, is no other than the embodiment of the opinion of mankind generally, or of that of various nations, in reference to the quality of actions. It may be said that actions of which a community disapproves are wrong and those of which they approve are right. Thus the standard must ever change with the change of man's opinion as to the quality of actions. Men reason about all actions and come to some definite conclusion about them, that is, they declare them to be good or bad. Religion attempts to set up a higher standard than this, and teaches that actions have inherent qualities quite irrespective of what people think about them. The standard of morals with people who believe in religion is derived from the teaching of men who are supposed to have been sent by God to tell mankind what is right and wrong. This found-

ing of moral teaching on supernaturalism no doubt offers many advantages when it is sought to influence certain minds. Though I myself do not believe in religion, I can see how it becomes profitable to others and how there are cases in which as a device for leading men into the paths of virtue it may succeed.

In Essay IX. Mr. Fukuzawa maintains that good is held in higher esteem than evil by most men. Man is naturally inclined to be good. Even bad men respect goodness in others and in their better moments wish to be virtuous. Wickedness is not usually the result of a deliberate preference for what is bad, but is only the result of folly. The numerous pleasures attached to virtue and the pain that is so frequently a concomitant of vice teach most men to strive to attain to the former and to avoid the latter.

The argument elaborated in Essay X, is not easy to follow and to not a few it appears contradictory. The essayist himself seems conscious that the view of man that he propounds here stands in apparent if not actual antagonism to the teaching of Essay VII. The limitless desires and high aspirations of man form the theme of Essay X. Man finds himself in possession of a mind that can free itself from all the trammels of time and space and soar to sublime

heights. This is some compensation for the extreme insignificance of his existence here and at times it leads him to forget how unimportant he is. Compared with the existence of the millions of units of which the universe is composed the span of life of any individual man is infinitesimally trifling, and his remembering this helps him to bear his lot with composure, but it is given to him to conceive of higher states of existence than any that he can enjoy, to live in a world of thought and imagination. His aspirations know no limits. The consciousness that he possesses an all-exploring mind imparts to his life a loftiness and dignity it would not otherwise possess.

In Essay XI. it is maintained that a virtuous disposition is in many cases nothing but an appreciation of what is beautiful in conduct. This is the old Greek idea. Their *kalos* expressed both the beautiful and the good, just as *aiskros* was used for the ugly to look at and for the morally bad.

In Essay XIII. the benefits of regarding things lightly are set forth in a somewhat new aspect. Light-heartedness is declared to be conducive to activity and zeal. It must not be over-looked that the levity of mind on which Mr. Fukuzawa dwells so much is a quality that the whole nation has cultivated more

or less for years, and that it has been repeatedly commented on by foreign observers as one of the most conspicuous traits of national character. It is a form of Stoicism. Mr. Fukuzawa thinks that it does not in this country lead to fatalism, nor according to him does it engender carelessness. The title of Essay XIII. is striking. *Ibutsu wo Karoku nite, hajimete kwappatsu naru wo ubeshi* (It is only by looking at things lightly that one can become energetic.)

To those who have asserted that Mr. Fukuzawa is a mere man of the world, who grovels in the dust and possesses no lofty ideal, we would recommend Essay XIV, which urges in eloquent language the necessity of our ever setting before us a high ideal and of our daily striving to reach it. Men of learning have the means of finding out what is the highest ideal of virtue, and as for those who have no other guide, they should fall back on religion, which can furnish them with better ideals than they can frame for themselves. In Essay 100, he takes up the subject of ideals again, and points out that in the present state of the world absolute perfection is unattainable, but in the far distant future, when knowledge will have so advanced that the material world will have disclosed all its

secrets to man, when in all spheres of inquiry the chain of cause and effect will be quite clear to all inquiring minds, absolute perfection may be attainable. This last essay, as it is the longest, is in many ways the most interesting of the series. It gives the basis of the optimism that pervades all Mr. Fukuzawa's writing. Mr. Fukuzawa is an optimist because he has unbounded confidence in man's potentiality. He thinks that the world's evils are all curable and that man's happiness during his sojourn here can be made quite complete. His belief in the future of mankind is based on the marvellous progress in knowledge that has been made in the past.

We have confined ourselves in this review to a consideration of Mr. Fukuzawa's opinions on the deeper questions of philosophy. But in so doing we have failed to give an adequate idea of the comprehensive nature of the volume of essays as regards subjects. There are few topics of interest connected with human life on which he has nothing to say. He discusses many types of virtue and many types of vice and he brings to all his discussions practical common sense. His system of philosophy seems to us incomplete and in many particulars inconsistent. His unqualified optimism is only possible because he

fails to give due weight to the many irremediable evils of man's existence in the world, and he expects from the study of physics and other sciences far more than it is in the nature of these branches of knowledge ever to yield. But with all this he displays a wonderful knowledge of human nature, and no writer that we have studied shows clearer discernment of what is and what is not possible in the sphere of ethics.

Great umbrage has been taken by some at the attitude assumed by Mr. Fukuzawa to religion. They say that it is an insult to the learned men who still profess Christianity to say that it is a religion that is not needed by the highly educated, but that it doubtless proves useful to ordinary folks. But after all is not this just the very attitude tacitly assumed by the majority of thinkers in Europe and America? Thousands—we may perhaps say millions—of men steer quite clear of religion themselves, never enter a church except for a funeral, a wedding, or a baptism, but they think it natural that their women folk should go to church, and that even a certain class of men should find religion helpful to them. The only difference between Mr. Fukuzawa and the majority of Western thinkers is this. He

states in the plainest language his opinion on the subject of religion and its function in the world; they usually maintain a discreet silence. But their practice and the confidential communications made by them to friends conclusively show that in reality their attitude to religion is precisely that of Mr. Fukuzawa. Surely Mr. Fukuzawa is not to be blamed for having the courage to say what he thinks on this subject. We fail to see any real disrespect for the convictions of others in the attitude complained of. Orthodox Christians must bear in mind that other people can have convictions on religious subjects that are quite as conscientious as theirs. One of these convictions is that religion as received and explained by the orthodox is false. The motto of this class of thinkers is *riget veritas, et pereas mundus*. Nothing can induce them to accept teaching that to them appears absolutely unreliable. But they are advocates of liberty of belief and do not attempt to interfere with the conscientious convictions of other people. They even hold the view that there are many illusions that do good; that comfort and help of various kinds can be received from falsehoods. History shows that men and women are capable of being deeply affected by lies and may per-

form many good actions under the impulse received from teaching that subsequently turns out to be quite false. To Mr. Fukuzawa and to many Western thinkers religion appears to be a device for getting a certain class of people to perform virtuous actions, which they would not otherwise perform. Now the world is better for these actions, and as a machine for turning them out religion has never been surpassed. It therefore makes little matter whether supernaturalism is capable of proof or not. To assume a personal God, miracles, heaven, and hell gives an authority to moral precepts that they could not otherwise possess. Hence let them be assumed. Don't try to knock down effective error in order to establish ineffective truth. The world is not educated up to the higher philosophy. To proclaim it prematurely and indiscriminately would do more harm than good. "A certain degree of general ignorance," says a well-known Western thinker, "is the condition of every religion and is the element in which alone it is able to exist, while as soon as astronomy, natural science, geology, history, knowledge of countries and nations have spread their light universally, and philosophy is finally allowed to speak, every faith which is based

on miracle and revelation must perish and then philosophy will take its place." This is Mr. Fukuzawa's view and he adds, "In the meantime, encourage religion." It fills a space and thus the vacuum which nature hates is avoided. But when Mr. Fukuzawa goes still further and recommends young men to profess a religion whose doctrines they consider erroneous for the sake of secondary benefits to be obtained thereby, as he did some years ago in a most public manner, we can no longer defend him. This, it seems to us, is recommending dishonesty. Those who enter the Christian Church are called upon to make a public confession of their faith. To repeat words affirming belief in doctrines which the candidate deems false to most right-minded people would appear absolutely heinous. Yet this is what Mr. Fukuzawa recommended some years ago. Whether he still holds such a proceeding allowable we do not know.

But these minor discrepancies and imperfections in his views can never hide from us the greatness of Mr. Fukuzawa's life as a whole. For nearly four decades he has figured as an out-and-out advocate of the superiority of Western thought and learning. This advocacy has been a most whole-hearted affair.

There have been no faltering moments, no retrograde steps. In essay XXXIV he argues that nothing great can be accomplished if a man's mind is never made up on any question. The half-way house between doubt and belief is not a place where one should stop long. The opinions which he has expressed have all a ring of decision about them, and this it is which has made his writing so popular. The majority of his readers read in order to be informed and they welcome fixed opinions. Dogmatism carried to a certain degree is absolutely essential to successful teaching. In all the subjects which he treats Mr. Fukuzawa takes a side and so presents his views that there is no room for an opposite theory. Mr. Chamberlain has pronounced Mr. Fukuzawa to be shallow. We confess we have failed to discover in what his shallowness consists. He has treated some of the deepest questions of life and of philosophy in, as it seems to us, a very effective manner, and has shown no tendency to shirk difficulties of any kind. The essay which Mr. Chamberlain translated for his "Introduction to the Study of Japanese Writing," already cited, struck us as displaying depth rather than shallowness. His contention in that essay would be supported by many great writers in the West. Shal-

lowness is a term of reproach that we should never think of applying to Mr. Fukuzawa. To us it seems that what he discusses he discusses thoroughly. Subjects that could not possibly be made intelligible to ordinary readers he leaves alone. For mysticism of any kind he has no taste. He is eminently practical and hence represents the English or American type of mind rather than the German. In Japan he is quite a new product. He is in every sense of the word a self-made man. It would be hard to find a man that knows Japan better than he and impossible to find any one who has won for himself more universal respect from all classes of society. His pen is still active. Even while we write a series of supplementary essays written by him is appearing in the *Jiji Shimpō*, and in the leading columns of that journal we often recognise his practised hand. Advanced scholars are wont to talk of the Mita sage as a man of the past, but among a very large number of people his popularity has never been greater than it is to-day.

APPENDIX B.

THE MITA SYSTEM OF ETHICS AND ITS* DETRACTORS.

BY PROF. DENING.

It is well-known that for over twenty years the Japanese have been searching for a new basis of ethics. Opinion on this subject may now be said to have settled down to three distinct lines of thought. (1) There are those who maintain that religion is the proper and the only sure basis for ethics. (2) There are those who believe that philosophy alone furnishes a satisfactory basis. (3) There is the practical school, which contends that morality, like all other things in the world, can only be judged by the benefits it confers on those who observe it, that the only ethical basis that has a chance of being understood and appreciated is one that appeals to the faculty that judges of moral facts, the internal consciousness.

(1). In reference to the first of these views it is necessary to observe that by religion we mean a creed based on a belief in miracles or a supernatural interference with the working of nature's laws. Speaking of the Japanese as a nation, after more

* *The Japan Weekly Mail*, June 23, 1900

than a quarter of a century's study of them we have no hesitation in saying that there is not the shadow of a chance of their accepting this basis for any system of national ethics that they may construct. From what we wrote more than twelve years ago on this subject we beg leave to make a short extract. The words represented the ideas of leading Japanese on the subject of the religious basis for ethics at the time they were written, but we venture to think that they have been strongly emphasized by the tendency of Japanese thought during the past four or five years. "The idea that morality, to be taught effectually, must be based entirely on religion has been for years in every part of the world the source of incalculable mischief. Religion, we use the term in its ordinary sense as applied to a system of faith and ceremony claiming to be based on some kind of supernatural revelation, has to do with things far off, mystic, incomprehensible—such as rewards and punishments in a future life, the need of semi-miraculous spiritual influences, the nature, attributes, and self-revelations of Gods and divinities. Morality, or Ethics on the other hand, deals with what is near, lucid, practical, intelligible—such as rewards and punishments in this life, mental and physical; the grand practical reforms to be effected

by a thorough application of admitted ethical principles ; our duties as human beings, as members of society, and as citizens. To maintain that to induce a man to act rightly in matters which *immediately* concern him, the only plan is to direct him to something that *remotely* concerns him ; that in order to persuade him to act in the best manner possible for this world, you must induce him to fear the punishments and expect the rewards of another world, appears to ordinary common sense illogical. With the old system a certain amount of progress was made. Men have in the past in certain countries and for a certain time been moral because they were superstitious, but that the Japanese, who in all other matters take delight in being abreast of the age, should, in their eagerness to attain a certain end, confine themselves to a set of means that, as Professor Huxley and others have shown, are being more and more discarded in the West, is too much to expect. . . . Instead of morality deriving strength from being based on religion, in as far as it rests on this basis it is weak and open to attack. About so-called religious doctrines very few people agree. But whether the man who speaks the truth or the man who lies is the man to be esteemed ; whether kindly

feeling is not preferable to malice; whether the honest, plain-speaking man is not to be chosen as a friend rather than the smooth-tongued, flattering, and double-faced; whether the man who maintains his family, helps his relations, and is always ready to serve his country is not better than the man who skulks out of all such duties, and the like---these are matters about which all civilized people are agreed." *

(2). Religion, divested of its supernaturalism, as Christianity, Buddhism, and Mohammedanism have been divested by certain sects and schools of thought, becomes a system of philosophy. As such we grant that it may form a basis for ethics to a select few. The trouble is that ethics founded on philosophy are quite unintelligible to the majority of those persons who most need guidance in morals. We know of no system of philosophic ethics that does not require very special talents and technical training in the student who aspires to understand and act upon it. We are then confronted with the fact that, though morality is of vital importance to the whole world, only a very small section of human society takes any

* *The Japan Mail*, March 17, 1888, "The Japanese in search of a Basis for Ethics."

interest in philosophic questions. Does not this fact put ethics founded on philosophy out of court in an inquiry such as we are conducting? It is not a basis of ethics that may suit a few highly cultured men that the Japanese are in search of, but a basis that can be understood and appreciated even by that very typical personage the "man in the street."

(3). Realising all the above-named difficulties and many more which we have not deemed it necessary to state, Mr. Fukuzawa has for a great many years been an earnest preacher of practical utilitarian ethics as the only system that possesses the two essential attributes of thorough intelligibility and great effectiveness. Until acts are considered right or wrong because of their proved consequences in this world, says Mr. Fukuzawa, there can be no universally satisfactory basis for morals. Many hard things have been said about utilitarianism as an ethical creed, but we have no hesitation in saying that in every case those who have represented utilitarianism as an ignoble belief have misunderstood the meaning of the word utility in some way or other. As Mill has observed, "questions of ultimate ends do not admit of proof in the ordinary acceptation of the term. To be incapable of proof by reason

is common to all first principles ; to the first premises of our knowledge, as well as to those of our conduct." Questions about ends resolve themselves into questions as to what things are desirable. Now the whole human race is agreed in thinking happiness to be desirable, and that is sufficient proof that it is desirable. Happiness may be said to have made out its title to be one of the ends of conduct and therefore one of the criteria of morality. This is held by all utilitarians, but no well-informed utilitarian will assert that happiness is the sole criterion of morality. He will admit that virtue also is desirable for itself and also as a means of happiness. Speaking broadly, the view of the utilitarian is that the welfare of the community and the welfare of individuals in every respect is the final object of all morality, as it is of all other existing enlightening agencies. He does not hold that morality is one and the same in all times and for all persons. He realises that in the different stages of progress through which individuals and nations pass different moral principles need to be enunciated. Certain general principles may be said to be fixed, but the application of these must depend on circumstances. Briefly stated, these are Mr. Fukuzawa's views. The

Mita system of ethics, as it is now known in Japan, did not wholly originate with Mr. Fukuzawa, though doubtless it is in the main an embodiment of his views. The *Shūshin Yōryō*, in which the system is unfolded and explained, was compiled by certain teachers in the Keiōgijuku and afterwards received the sanction of Mr. Fukuzawa. A full outline of the contents of the *Shūshin Yōryō* was given in the March Monthly Summary of the Religious Press (March 9th). Owing to the way in which the Mita doctrines have been distorted by certain Christian writers on the one hand and by conservative writers like Dr. Inoue Tetsujirō on the other, a few days ago* a concise account of the sense in which the terms "Independence and Self-respect," the basis of the Mita ethics, are used in the *Shūshin Yōryō* was published in the *Jiji Shimpō*: which we translate below.

"Though it is not easy to convey in a few words all the breadth of meaning contained in the terms independence and self-respect, which form the basis of the system of morality propounded in the *Shūshin Yōryō*, the following explanation of the term, fur-

* *Viz* the issue of June 1st.

nished to one or two of the students of the Keiogijuku in response to inquiries on the subject, suffices to give some idea of their import.

(1.) A man of independence and self-respect mixes freely with his fellow-men and has no small regard for them, but on this account he does not in the slightest degree alter his own convictions.

(2.) A man of independence and self-respect exercises self-control and self-discipline.

(3.) A man of independence and self-respect holds truth and integrity in high esteem and neither deceives himself nor deceives others.

(4.) A man of independence and self-respect is anxious to help others to develop to the full their independence and self-respect.

(5.) Although a man may by his personal efforts make a living for himself and his family, if he does not fulfil his duties to society at large, he cannot be called a man of independence and self-respect.

(6.) A man of independence and self-respect observes all obligatory rules without waiting to be told to do so by others.

(7.) It goes without saying that a man of independence and self-respect should fulfil his duties to himself, his family, and his country, but he must

also fulfil his duty to all mankind and to the lower animals.

(8.) He who is a slave to his own lusts and who has no control over himself, can neither be said to be independent nor to possess self-respect.

(9.) He who, instead of being controlled by the forces of nature, uses them as a means of making his life refined, useful, and happy is a man of independence and self-respect.

(10.) He who is so ill-acquainted with truth as to be swayed to and fro by the wind of superstition is not a man of independence and self-respect.

(11.) He who is so affected by the good or ill that may befall him as to lose his equanimity is not a man of independence and self-respect.

(12.) He who knows how to accumulate money, but knows not how to spend it, is not a man of independence and self-respect.

(13.) Arrogance is the result of a very despicable disposition of mind and is not entertained by a man who has self-respect.

(14.) He who respects himself respects others; and he who despises himself despises others.

These explanations undoubtedly clear the Mita system of ethics from the charges formulated by Dr.

Inoue Tetsujirō, and some Christian writers, to the effect that the "self" which is held up for esteem is an ignoble "self." We cannot understand how any careful reader of the *Shūshin Yōryō* could accuse its compilers of making an inferior type of human nature the basis of an ethical system. Throughout the 29 sections of which the work is composed a very lofty type of man is held up for imitation. The ideal man of the Mita school of ethics is a man who has cultivated to the full his moral nature (sec. 12), a man who respects the rights of others (sec. 14), a man who is averse to harbouring jealousy and hatred (sec. 15), a man who has a high sense of responsibility and who acts honestly and straightforwardly towards those to whom he is responsible (sec. 16), a man who trusts others and gives them good reason to trust him (sec. 17), a man who carefully observes the etiquette of life (sec. 18), a man who knows how to make allowance for the feelings of others (sec. 19), a man whose kindness of heart extends even to animals (sec. 20), a man who has been subjected to the refining and elevating influences of art and literature, a man who serves his country well, pays his taxes, and obeys the law (sec. 22, 23, 24 and 25), a man who treats foreigners as his equals (sec. 26), a man of progressive

spirit who aims at transmitting to posterity the civilization he has inherited in an improved form (sec. 27).

Two distinct classes of objectors to Mr. Fukuzawa's ethics have come forward. One of these, led by Dr. Inoue, objects to it on philosophic grounds, the other repudiates it on religious grounds. The sentiments expressed in Dr. Inoue's Sendai speech, reported fully in these columns, have, we observe, been restated in Tôkyô, and have attracted a good deal of attention throughout the country. It seems to us that the objections to the Mita ethics stated in that speech will not bear examination. Let us take them in order. "A standard of morality," says Dr. Inoue, "ought to be universally applicable, and nothing can be plainer than the fact that Mr. Fukuzawa's standard is not universally applicable." Now in the first place it is only fair to state that the compilers of the *Shûshin Yōryō* make no pretensions to supply the country with a new standard of morality. All they do is to lay stress on the importance of certain moral principles. But is it true to say that the various standards of morality in use to-day are universally applicable? Does not every nation possess its own standard? And is not the standard constantly undergoing change? Is the

standard the same in England to-day that it was fifty years ago? We are not now speaking of general abstract principles, but of that standard which each normal man and each normal woman has in his or her mind when considering actions, their own or those of others. Dr. Inoue has not given us his own standard and so we are not in a position to judge of it, but from many remarks that he has made we infer that it will prove to be absolute, and therefore practically unusable. Mr. Fukuzawa's doctrine, says Dr. Inoue, is a reaction from the subjection taught in this country for so many centuries and therefore is not to be relied on. Have not all important doctrines on religious and moral subjects been reactions? Were not the doctrines of Shaka Muni and Christ reactions against the thralldom of prevailing ideas in India and Judaea respectively? Has not the world's progress been marked by perpetual reactions? "Could morality exist at all if the doctrine of subjection to lawful authority were abolished?" asks Dr. Inoue. Where in the *Shûshin Yōryō* is this course recommended? Does not the Mita system of ethics lay stress on the importance of obeying all lawful authority (*vide* secs. 11, 24 and 25)? Dr. Inoue proceeds to set up another dummy, absolute

independence, and to demolish it to his own satisfaction. "Where in actual life," he asks, "is absolute independence possible?" From Mr. Fukuzawa's writings scores of passages could be quoted which would all give the answer "nowhere." Dr. Inoue next proceeds to argue that the Mita system of ethics is Rousseauism dished up afresh. We confess that we fail to see the resemblance. Mr. Fukuzawa is far too shrewd a man not to see that the doctrine of the equality of all men as it was understood in France at the time of the Revolution, even if proclaimed here, which as yet it has not been, would make no headway. The fault we have to find with Dr. Inoue's attack on the Mita ethics is that it entirely fails to represent them in their true light. The system is, of course, imperfect and intended to fill a gap. But it is quite untrue to say that there is anything ignoble or demoralising in it. It is quite unfair to say that it is an ignominious "Self" that Mr. Fukuzawa exalts to the throne in his new kingdom. We have strong suspicions that Dr. Inoue's chief grudge against Mr. Fukuzawa is connected with what Dr. Inoue would call the pro-foreign bias of the Mita Sage. This stalwart apostle of Western methods and Western thought is an eyesore to men of conservative instincts like Dr.

Inoue. Dr. Inoue holds Mr. Fukuzawa responsible for prevailing money-worship. We ourselves, after very careful scrutiny, have come to the conclusion that there is very little money-worship anywhere in Japan. If money-worship consists of spending money almost as fast as it is made, if not a little faster, as Count Matsukata has lately told us is the custom with the majority of the Japanese, then the nation is composed of money-worshippers. Most sensible people will see that Mr. Fukuzawa's views on the value of money are those of advanced Western nations and that the premium put on poverty by Dr. Inoue is but the echo of a past state of thought that is in a fair way of being eradicated from the mind of the nation.

The chief objection brought against the Mita system of ethics by Christian writers has already been partly answered. But another objection demands consideration. A very shrewd writer in the *Kōre* a short time ago maintained that human nature can not be considered noble if what Mr. Fukuzawa writes about it is true. Mr. Fukuzawa is a materialist, says this writer. "From the point of view of materialism there is very little difference between human beings and ordinary animals. Whence then comes the reason for man's self-esteem? Is not his life utterly

insignificant? Dust he is and to dust he shall return. What is there in him that is worthy of honour? The view of human nature adopted by Mr. Fukuzawa ill accords with the elevation of self-esteem into a basis of morality. If the immortality of the soul be denied, man ceases to occupy a prominent place in the Universe. The Christian can appreciate all Mr. Fukuzawa says about self-esteem, because his view of the origin and of the destination of man ennobles human nature. But in the absence of Christian belief self-esteem is meaningless and ineffective as a motive power. Mr. Fukuzawa has adopted the conclusion to which Christians have come, namely, that human nature is noble and worthy of high honour, but he denies the premises on which that conclusion rests. Hence his system of morality is illogical and can never effect much good." This is certainly a very powerful argument and an argument that to a certain extent is irrefutable. As was pointed out in these columns some time ago, Mr. Fukuzawa's system of moral philosophy reveals serious inconsistencies. But the question is, do not the two views of human nature given by Mr. Fukuzawa represent the true condition of man? Is not his existence here regarded from one point of view

utterly insignificant, while differently regarded it assumes great importance? Can it be truthfully said that the importance attached to life by the majority of people even in so called Christian countries to-day is dependent on belief in the immortality of the soul? We think that if a census of opinion could be taken on this point, the answer would be an emphatic, no. Men value life for what it yields of happiness, and invariably wish it to end when all hope of happiness is gone. Most of us are thoroughly convinced of the fact that the world can get on without us; that it is only those who depend on our work or our counsel that will really miss us. If we think it important to lengthen out our lives as much as possible, it is because we realise our responsibilities in one or other of life's many relationships to persons dependent on us. The importance of man on account of his high destiny or his divine origin may be said to be an exploded theory, that served a good purpose when man knew less about the universe and its laws than he does now. Now that we have discovered other planets and have pictured to ourselves the millions of beings that have inhabited or may in the future inhabit those distant regions, the old notion that the countless trillions of personal units

that have appeared on this planet will have their separate individual existence perpetuated to all time, though it did good service in firing the imagination of a Dante or a Milton, is regarded by us as more serious but not more true than what Gulliver has written about Brobdignag, Laputa, and other places. Yet the fact remains, on which Mr. Fukuzawa lays stress, that man's life is, in all civilised countries, considered important. The argument of the defenders of religion, that you can have no satisfactory morality without religion, then falls to the ground ; for while belief in a supernatural religion is daily on the wane, there is not a single community of any importance in the world but acknowledges the necessity of morality and possesses its own special standard.

Utilitarianism as a system of philosophy may be unintelligible to the masses, but Mr. Fukuzawa's adaptation of the leading principles of this system may be understood even by a man who has enjoyed few educational advantages. Of what does and what does not conduce to the welfare of society most people are very fair judges. What stamp of man and what stamp of woman does Japan need to possess in the Twentieth Century, when her competition with Western nations will yearly become keener?

This is the question which the compilers of the *Shishin Yōryō* have sought to answer. They have no doubt left many things unsaid and in our opinion have said some things that need not have been said. Among the latter insistence on independence of spirit, a quality which seems to us already developed to excess in most young men, must be included. But on the whole they are to be congratulated for having turned the discussion of ethics away from barren theories about abstract standards and centred it on practical life. They have appealed to common sense and will not appeal in vain. As for there being any authority for moral teaching beyond that which the consensus of an ever changing opinion gives to it, the notion is antiquated in the extreme and has been dismissed by the Mita moralists as unworthy of a moment's consideration. The Mita system is founded on the bed rock of bare fact and hence a stability not possessed by the aerial structures that pose as its rivals. Mr. Fukuzawa knows well what are the conscientious feelings of his fellow-countrymen. To these he has appealed, and in doing so has adopted the course which moral reformers of all times and all countries have followed with success.

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